

FINAL REPORT
ON THE
SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS
IN THE
DISTRICT OF TIPPERA.
1915 TO 1919.

BY
W. H. THOMPSON,
Settlement Officer.



CALCUTTA:
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CHAPTER I.—The District.

General Description.

The districts of Tippera and Noakhali form the portion of the delta of the Ganges in Bengal lying east of the Meghna river. Roughly speaking Noakhali district lies south of the latitude of 23° and Tippera north of it. Tippera is bounded on the east by the ranges dividing India from Burma and further north by the Sylhet district in Assam. Towards the north its pointed shape carries it to a place of trijunction with Sylhet and Mymensingh. On the west across the Meghna lie Mymensingh, Dacca and Faridpur. The total area of Tippera district is 2,542·5 square miles. Many districts showing many phases of development, scenery and soil, intervene between the seaface south of Khulna and the Himalayas, which lie to the north of the Province, and between the main estuary of the Ganges and the first hills on the western side of Bengal. In the comparatively small area of Tippera and Noakhali the varying characteristics of those districts are successively reproduced in miniature during the passage from the Noakhali coast to the northern corner of Tippera and from the Meghna to the eastern hills, although the likeness is somewhat disguised by the effects of the humid Eastern Bengal climate. The comparatively high alluvium of the Presidency Division with its occasional badly drained depressions finds its counterpart in the Noakhali mainland and southernmost *thanas* of Tippera. Matlab, the west of Daudkandi and Nabinagar reflect the area of fluvial activity, wide streams and open *char* lands, through which the Ganges and Brahmaputra pass in the centre of the Province. The solid land of the centre and east of Tippera corresponds with the Burdwan Division, and the *bils* of Brahmanbaria are the counterpart of those of Mymensingh and Northern Bengal.

2. The district is divided into "revenue *thanas*" which formerly corresponded with the jurisdiction of the police stations. The number of the latter has lately been increased. The revenue and police *thanas* are divided between the three existing subdivisions as follows :—

	Revenue <i>thana</i>	Police-station
Sadar Subdivision ...	Comilla ...	Comilla.
	Lāksām ...	Burichang.
	Chauddagrām ...	Lāksām.
	Chāndinā ...	Chauddagrām.
	Dāudkāndi	Chāndinā.
	Murādnagar	Dāudkāndi.
		Homnā.
		Murādnagar.
		Debidwār.

	Revenue <i>thana</i> .	Police-station
Chandpur Subdivision	Chāndpur ...	... { Chāndpur.
	Hājiganj ...	... { Faridganj.
	Matlab ...	... { Hājiganj.
Brahmanbaria Subdivision	Brāhmaṇbāria	... { Kachuā.
	Nabinagar ...	... { Matlab.
	Kasbā ...	... { Brāhmaṇbāria.
		... { Nāsirnagar.
		... { Sarāil.
		... { Nabinagar.
		... { Bānchārāmpur.
		... { Rasullābād.
		... { Kasbā.
		... { Burichang.

The lately formed Burichang police-station includes within its jurisdiction part of Comilla and part of Kasba revenue *thanas*, and is now altogether within the Sadar Subdivision. The villages have been numbered in the record-of-rights in a separate serial for each revenue *thana*, and throughout this report the word *thana* used for a unit of jurisdiction means "revenue *thana*".

3. The formation of the whole district of Tippera is alluvial, essentially part of the Delta. How slow is the growth of the

Geology.

Delta has been discussed in the Settlement Report for Noakhali. There is practically nothing to show for two centuries of the rivers' work in building it except some extension of the shallows under the waters of the Bay. An explanation for variations in level and in the soil of different parts of the district must, therefore, be sought not in the varying age of the land's foundation, but in subsequent earth movements and the erosion and the deposits by the drainage system superimposed. An old alluvium raised by the same earth movements which constructed and are still at work upon the Himalayas, forms the lowest ranges of the Eastern Hills. Its red colour, the nodules found in it containing a large percentage of the sesquioxide of iron,* and the fact that it contains no fossils except large metamorphosed fragments of dicotyledonous wood, point to its having been laid down in fresh or brackish water during the late Tertiary period. The ranges between Bengal and Burma run generally north and south. This gives the direction of the folding of the earth's crust which has formed them. The outlier of the Tippera hills, the little Māināmati Range, twelve miles long and of width varying from a mile to two miles, which lies five miles west of Comilla, indicates the position of another parallel fold,* but the earth movements do not appear to be simple north and south folds. The Himalayas mark folding in a direction almost east and west. The plains of Bengal are effected by earth movements in the two directions at right angles and the effects are shown in shallow depressions and slight elevations which tend to be oval in shape. The Māināmati range is the core of such an ovalshaped elevation. It is long from north to south, for the tendency near the Eastern Ranges is that north and south foldings predominate. The elevation represented by the red earth of the Madhupur jungle in Dacca and Mymensingh is also longer from north to south than from east to west but much rounder than that of the Māināmati Hills being further from the Eastern Ranges. The depressions forming the *bil* areas in Northern Bengal are oval again but being nearer to the Himalayas are long from east to west. In the Settlement Report for Noakhali it has been mentioned that the high level of the mainland on the west probably marks an elevation of this sort. The comparatively low-land in the north of Begamganj *thana* of Noakhali and the south part of Lāksām *thana* and south-east of Chaudhagrām *thana* represent a depression between that and the elevation of which the Māināmati Hills are the core. The *bil* area in the Brāhmaṇbāria subdivision, and especially the depression through which the Titās river runs, represents the next alternating depression.

*In 1871 specimens of iron ore were sent from the Māināmati hills for examination in the Geological Survey Office, but the deposit was pronounced not worth working as much richer and more valuable ores of iron are found abundantly in many other parts of India.

4. Positive proof of movements so slow as the depression and elevation

Evidence of earth movements. going on on the earth's surface is necessarily difficult to obtain. This is especially the case in a country whose ancient monuments are so few. The late Major Jack found positive evidence of depression in the *bil* area in the north-west of Bakarganj in the presence of ancient brickwork "*ghāts*" formerly on the banks of tanks but now far below a level at which they could be of use. The great tanks which are one of the features of Tippera district are the oldest monuments of man in these parts. It was the fashion among the Rajas of Tippera to excavate such tanks and by naming them after themselves to hand down their memory to posterity, and smaller landlords and chieftains followed their example. Old Hindu tanks are long from north to south, more modern tanks and especially those excavated by Muhammadans are more often square. Throughout the higher part of Tippera district old rectangular tanks are very frequent, but in Brāhmanbāria *thana* such tanks are very seldom found. Yet it is practically certain that Sarāil Pargana which covers almost all Brāhmanbāria belonged to the Rajas of Tippera before the province became subject to the Moghuls. A reasonable explanation is that, such tanks as existed in Brāhmanbāria *thana* became filled in with silt as the level of the land was slowly depressed and were thus obliterated. If it had been only one story that had contained the same statement the evidence would have been of little value, but there are several stories among the traditions of the high central plain of Tippera in which it is said that the locality was formerly under water either in wide marshes or the bed of the "Padma Puran". According to one story, Mahidhar Chela, a merchant, was blown by adverse winds while crossing it to a shore where he saw a beautiful Muhammadan girl whom he married and with whom he settled down in the place which is named after him Mahichāil Pargana. Chānd Sādagar, the traditional founder of Dallāi pargana, another merchant, came upon two islands in the waters and settled on them. A tank is still pointed out at Pālgiri in the north of Hājiganj *thana* called Dallāi Rājār Dighi and said to have been cut by him. There he quarrelled with Mānasha, the snake Goddess, one of whose servants in spite of all Chānd Sādagar's precautions bit his son on the night of his marriage. The wife launched his corpse on a raft on which she also went adrift over the waters, and guarded it so faithfully that Mānasha repented what she had done and restored it to life. Huien Tsang, the Chinese traveller of the 5th century A. D., came to Kamalanka, generally identified with Pātikāra, by water. The growth of the Delta is so slow that there can be no question that it did not reach far south of the central part of Tippera long before any signs of civilization appeared in these parts. If these traditions indicate that the centre of Tippera district was low lying some centuries ago, it is probable that it has been raised to its present level by gradual elevation of the earth's crust.

5. The behaviour of the Gumti river gives an indication that the

The Gumti embankments. elevation of the Māināmati Hill range is still going on. It rises in Hill Tippera and enters British India just below Sonāmūrā some seven miles due east of Comilla as a hill stream of considerable size. It passes Comilla and the northern end of the Māināmati hills in a direction at right angles to their axis. Its length from the boundary of Hill Tippera to a point somewhat beyond the hills is confined between embankments. Like all hill streams, it is subject to sudden floods when there has been heavy rain in the hills, and rises within the embankments high above the level of the town and the plains east of the Māināmati Range. Major Rennell whose surveys in these parts were made about 1767 found that the Gumti flowed opposite the end of the Māināmati hills, up to which point it was navigable for large country boats all the year round. This point is on the axis of the elevation. The flood waters apparently could not get over this point fast enough without flooding the country round Comilla and the embankments were therefore built. The Resident of Tippera, the successor to the first European Officer stationed at Comilla, in a letter dated 15th October 1783, stated that the Gumti embankment had been constructed about 20 years previously. It burst in 1783 and again in 1789, and the following winter it was systematically repaired and raised under the supervision of Lieutenant Parlbby, an Engineer of the Company's service.

It has given increasing trouble ever since, and of late years, its breach on one side or the other has been almost an annual occurrence. This is not to be put down altogether to the systematic neglect of its maintenance by the Maharaja of Tippera in whose hands it was from 1845 until last year, but partly to the increasing difficulty which the flood waters meet in passing the point opposite the end of the hills. This difficulty is easily explained on the supposition that elevation is still going on.

6. The soil of the district varies considerably from point to point. Close to the hills the soil, even where it is not the old alluvion, partakes somewhat of its nature as it continues to receive deposits washed down from them. Close to the hills it is a very fine clay which cakes very hard in the dry season and is capable of being used for the walls of a house. Though, in such a wet climate, it is not often used for this purpose, its character shows itself by the neat *āils* which form the boundaries between neighbouring cultivated plots. Further away from the hills the soil normally contains a higher percentage of decayed vegetable matter, which renders it more capable of retaining moisture. It gradually passes from a pale yellow clay to the dark soil found in Chandpur *thana* and in Lakhshimpur *thana* of Noakhali, which is perhaps some of the richest and most fertile in the world. There is an abrupt change when a region is reached which is being carved and remoulded by the Meghna and its branches. The soil at once becomes more sandy, not necessarily less fertile but of different character. When the level has been depressed, but active channels from the Meghna have not found their way into the depression, long submersion and the action of aquatic plants have sometimes so finely disintegrated the soil that it has become a black mud as treacherous as a quicksand. In some of the *bils* near Bānchārāmpur and in Brāhmanbāria *thana* the cultivators have to push themselves about over the soft mud on plaintain-tree stems when engaged in transplanting their *boro* paddy.

Division of the district into four parts.

7. The district may be described as divided according to variations of level and soil into four parts :—

- (1) The solid block of high land intersected by few if any natural waterways in the centre.
- (2) The area, generally low and containing many tracts which are very low, extending from the northern end of the district as far as the Gumti river, which flows from Hill Tippera past Comilla and on in a wide curve to join the Meghna.
- (3) A corresponding low area, although not so large and generally not so low, on the southern side of high central tract.
- (4) A strip along the western border from end to end, cut by a network of streams connecting with the Meghna, and subject to an annual deposit of its silt.

In each of the portions except the last a gradual change in the appearance of the country side and the character of the soil is to be seen as the distance from the hills increases.

8. Passing the north end of the Māināmati hills the Gumti river winds in the curves which have given it its name, generally in a north-westerly direction to Comanyganj, before reaching which it has begun to swing round towards the west and south-west to pass Gauripur and join the Kātālīā river a little north of Dāudkāndi. Almost as high up its course as Comilla it is noticeable that the land on its right bank is distinctly lower than the land on its left. No natural channels of any importance leave it or enter it on the southern side, on which lies an unbroken block of comparatively high land. This block contains certain patches lower than others, for example, that near Rām Mohan Bāzār, but becomes only very gradually lower towards the Dākāitiā river. To the west it is terminated abruptly by the area under the influence of the Meghna.

9. The Dacca-Cuttagong Trunk Road between Comilla and Dāudkāndi

Described in more detail.

is embanked except where it passes over the Māināmati hills. The embankment between Comilla and Barkāmta, where Chāndina police-station is situated, is on the average not more than three or four feet high. Beyond Chāndina it gradually becomes higher until Elliotganj is reached, after which its height is seven or eight feet. There are very few bridges, none but a small culvert or two till Chāndina is reached, and after that no more than a few feet of waterway per mile. Yet it is only in a very abnormal season that the road interferes in the least with the drainage. None of the Meghna flood reaches this road, and all the drainage of the Tippera hills which finds its way into the Gunti and other streams north of it, as well as the drainage of all the plains area north of the road, finds its way naturally into the Meghna without approaching the embankment. Another road goes from Comilla past Lālmāi, Mudafarganj and Hājiganj to Chāndpur. This road also has few large bridges although more waterway through it is necessary than through the Trunk Road as the bulk of the rainwater of the area between it and the Trunk Road has to pass through it into the Dākāitiā river. It is led away by a series of *khāls*, some of which are entirely and others partly artificial. The most important are the Courjon Khāl through Mudafarganj and the Boāluri Khāl through Hājiganj. By means of these two *khāls* with others running transverse to them all the hollows in this generally high block are successfully drained. There is no land too low to bear a crop of *āman* paddy and most of it is high enough to grow *āus* and jute.

10. North of the Gunti, except where the fringes of the eastern hills

The low area in the north.

come over the border into Tippera district and in certain belts of higher land, it may be said to be the rule that the cultivated land is all under water for five months in the year. The force of the water in the Meghna and the rate at which the stream flows are not by any means as great as in the Padma, but there is a considerable slope in the water level, and it is more or less constant throughout the length from the trijunction of Tippera, Sylhet and Mymensingh to the junction with the Ganges. Inland there is a decided slope in the level of the land from the high central block northwards towards Brāhmanbāria, while on the eastern side there is a very definite slope again away from the hills. An appreciation of the drainage conditions of the northern half of Tippera may be obtained by imagining a piece of tin plate of the same shape supported on bricks and comparing the area with it. Under the very edge on the eastern side is placed a line of bricks supporting the plate and causing it to slope away as the country slopes away from the hills. In the middle of the southern side is placed a brick, not at the very edge but well underneath, to make an elevation like that of the high land skirted by the Gunti as it bends from Comilla to Jāfarganj, Companyganj and Gauripur. To reproduce the steady slope of the Meghna to the south a brick is placed under the north-western corner and a small piece put on the top of the plate in the south-western corner. Drops of water falling on the eastern edge of the plate would first run west like the streams do which come out of Hill Tippera. Drops falling in the south-east corner would turn towards the north-west. Before reaching the middle of the plate some would turn towards the south-western corner as the Gunti turns towards Gauripur; others would run further into the middle of the plate and only later turn towards the west. Their course would correspond with the Nāyanpur *khāl* and the Buri river with which it joins. The Buri river enters the Meghna as high up as Nabinagar. The brick at the north-western corner of the plate and the brick in the middle of the southern side would tend to cause the *plate* to be convex in the northern part along a line in the direction joining them. Water poured into the *plate* at the northern end would pass either straight along the western side—an obstruction corresponding to the land of Dacca and Mymensingh being placed there to stop it falling off—or would, especially if it came over a little to the east of the northern corner as the floods come over from Sylhet, flow through the sagging portion of the sheet corresponding with the low land east of Brāhmanbāria. Drops of it would remain stationary in this area, and thus correspond with the Brāhmanbāria *bils*. Other

drops would find their way like the Titās does in a sweep towards the west meeting perhaps with some of the drops from the south-west corner just as the Buri river meets the Titās. In the part of the plate corresponding to the area between Bānchārāmpur and Gauripur there would be no very definite slope to the west. Drops of water would stand in this area or move in seemingly aimless courses and by doing so reflect the *bils* round Homnā and the numerous branch rivers intersecting this locality in all directions.

11. The river Titās leaves the Meghna near Ajabpur Steamer Station and passes first in a direction almost due north. Receiving the waters of the Sonāikhāli Khāl which leaves the Meghna near Chattalpāra, it turns east and proceeds generally east but with many windings for 15 miles till it almost reaches the borders of Sylhet. From Harinber it turns south and south-west, receives the waters of two hill streams, the Sonāi which enters it at Sasāi and the Lohār which enters at Chāndura, and passes in a wide curve past Brāhmanbāria to Akhaurā. After passing beneath the Railway bridge there, it takes a curve concave to the north which brings it back almost to Brāhmanbāria again. At Gokarna it turns again to the left and winds on till it meets the Pāgla river at Krishnagar and the Buri near Nabinagar and falls a little further on into the Meghna. The total length of its course is just over 100 miles. The distance along the Meghna from the point where it leaves it at Ajabpur to the point where it falls into it again at Durgārāmpur near Nabinagar is only 17 miles. The average rate of fall in the level of its waters is therefore only about one-sixth as great as in the Meghna. This accounts for the fact that even in the rains there is not a strong current in it. In its slack waters any silt coming in from the Meghna is deposited before it has gone far. The waters of the Sonāi and the Lohār when they enter the plains in spate are banked up because the Titās draws off their waters so slowly, and the silt they bring from the hills is deposited as soon as the plains are entered. Thus it is that the Titās and its tributaries make no headway towards silting up the *bils*.

12. Even on the bank of the Meghna the land is not very high and it slopes away rapidly. From Telikāndi and Jaydharkāndi begins a string of wide *bils* in the north of Chuntā, Kalikachha and Noagāon villages and in Mahisber, Kundā. Gokarnā, Jetagrām, Bil Saffā, Shāhajādpur, Phulājuri, Haripur, Dhauria and Budhanti. The best known of these *bils* are Bil Saffa, the Belangā Bil in Shāhajādpur, the Hugli Bil in Phulājuri and the Langulia Bil in Haripur. The Titās winds through the area. The perennial water usually lies in long winding depressions many of which communicate with the numerous arms put out by the Titās, which itself repeatedly bifurcates and joins up again. In the dry weather the country appears as a low marshy plane, not level by any means but full of oddshaped pockets and long twisting depressions in which *boro*-paddy is grown. The higher parts are stretches of grass land except where *āman*-paddy has been sown and has been able to keep its head above the rising floods. In the very north of the Brāhmanbāria subdivision is a circular stretch of *bil* comprised in the northern parts of the villages Nasirpur, Nāsirnagar, Asurāil and the western parts of the Srighar and Buriswar. Its area is about 10 square miles and in the dry weather it is almost wholly given up to grazing. In the rains it is a continuous sheet of water and is called the Mediār Hāoār, the latter word being a corruption, in the manner of local speech, of the word "*Sāgar*" meaning "a sea." "H" for "S" is a common corruption, and a guttural is often elided in the lazy tongue of those parts. Where the main Assam-Bengal Railway line passes through Brāhmanbāria *thana* the country is covered by outliers from the hills with low strips between them. Along the northern bank of the Lohār river are *bils*, and from Chāndura fringing the Titās on its left bank is a stretch of lowland as extensive as that in its upper courses. Here what is perennially flooded is more than ever noticeably in long strips parallel to the Titās, and connected with it always at the southern end and often at the northern end also.

13. Floods are a recurring trouble in the Brāhmanbāria subdivision. There was a real famine in many parts of it in 1915-16 and there has been some scarcity this year also owing to the damage to the winter crops. This year the area most

The Titās.

The Brāhmanbāria *bils*.

Floods in Brāhmanbāria.

affected is in the north, the damage being due to abnormal floods coming down the Meghna or over the border *via* the Mediar Hāoar from Sylhet. This does not occur every year, but in the *bil* area east of Brāhmanbāria from Suilpur Char almost to Akhaura, the cultivators seem to have lost much of their winter rice crops every year since the railway embankment on the Brauch Line to Asuganj was completed. The Titās has made banks for itself along most of its course, but they are very narrow and only high compared with the low *bil* land behind them. In the rains the Titās is a river without banks and appears several miles wide. The winter paddy grown is of the long stemmed varieties. That some of these can grow at a surprising rate on a rising flood is true, but once their heads are submerged growth ceases and after a week's submersion the plant dies. Before the railway embankment was constructed much of the flood water used to find its way when the level was highest over the comparatively high land along which the embankment passes from the Akhaura bridge to Brāhmanbāria. There are some openings in this embankment but they are insufficient, the more so owing to the system of the Railway Engineers of putting a flooring of bricks under a bridge raising the bottom of the available channel to within a two or three feet of the level of the fields on either side. If the winter rice crop survives the highest floods in this area it suffers at the time of ripening from the slow drainage of the water. At the time of flood there is a rush of water through the Akhaura bridge. After passing it there is again a wide area over which the waters can spread and the stream coming again into slack water drops any silt which it has picked up. Opposite the village of Barisal it has silted up very considerably. The work of the bridge in causing this is helped by a hill stream, the Hāorā, which enters at this point and deposits silt of its own. The obstruction at Barisal does not so much affect the flood when at its highest as it retards the drainage when the waters have somewhat fallen. It also interferes with the navigation of the river, which up to this point and again above this point as far as the shallows two miles beyond Chāndura, is open for the largest country boats all the year round. Below Akhaura *bils* border the river for most of the rest of its course, and there is perennial water in the parts of Sultānpur, Birāmpur, Hablauchcha and Sendā nearest to it. From Sultānpur through Rāmraīl, Ulchāpāra, Brāhmanbāria and on the Sarāil and Kālikachha there is a continuous belt of highland with many homesteads. Beyond there is a break of some 5 miles across the *bils* and the belt goes on again from Gokarna Kālikunda, Nāsiranagar, Srighar and Buriswār, to Fandāuk, Atukura and the north-eastern extremity of the subdivision.

14. The area between the Gumti and the Titās is generally higher than Brāhmanbāria *thana*. Almost all of it is high enough to grow winter paddy but there are a few *bils*. There is a string of them along the Buri river in Chakla Roshnābād and the villages Dālpā, Jānghar, Sālghar and Sonātala on the edge of Murādnagar *thana*, and there are the Bāidyer Bil and Bāraikuri Bil, fast silting up, near Murādnagar itself. The general direction of drainage is from south-east to north-west. Hill streams of which the most important are the Sonāi and the Nāyanpur Khal find their way into the Buri River which leaves the Gumti at Gānjar a few miles east of Companyganj and ultimately meets the Titās just north of Nabinagar. The Nalua River leaves the Gumti at Murādnagar and going north-west joins a net-work of channels, distributaries of the Meghna which fall again into it.

15. Between the three elevations, the high land of the south-west of Noakhali, the high central block of Tippera and the eastern hills, there is a depression. In Noakhali the level very gradually descends from the sea coast inland until the lowest part of the district is reached on the borders of Tippera. Just over the border in the south of Chaudhagrām *thana* there is a patch of such *bil* as is found in Brāhmanbāria. The centre of it is the Sātbāria *bil* which is too low for winter rice and bears a crop of *boro*-paddy. There are other small patches of the same low land along the tortuous course of the river which is the boundary between Pargana Homnābād and Chakla Roshnābād. This goes by a variety of names and is the same stream as the Little Feni River in

Noakhali. Westward from this stream right across the southern half of Lāksām *thana* the land is comparatively low although always just high enough to bear a crop of winter rice. It is a trackless area. Although very much smaller its neglected condition is as obvious as that to which the District Administration Commission turned its attention when it recommended the formation of a new subdivision between Brāhmanbāria and Chandpur. The Dākāitiā river does not follow the middle of the depression west of Lāksām but may be said rather to fringe the southern side of the high central tract. Its banks are comparatively high. A few miles away from it the level on the southern side is distinctly lower than on the northern. In the south part of Hājiganj *thana* and in Rāinganj *thana* water stays in the fields until the end of December, but it stays rather because the means of drawing it off are wanting than because the area is low when compared, for instance, with the low levels in Brāhmanbāria. There are one or two artificial cuts in this area which have done good service in assisting drainage.

16. The division between the strip along the western side of the district subject to the active influence of the Meghna and the central high tract is very clearly defined in Matlab and in the southern part of Dāudkāndi by the channel called the Gumti, which winds through the southern part of Matlab *thana* past the police-station itself, and forms the boundary between Matlab and Dāudkāndi above Aswinpur, and by the Kātālīā channel which it leaves at Mollarkāndi and which is met by the better known Gumti river just north of Dāudkāndi police-station. To the east of this line is old high-land. To the west are *chars* with all the characteristics of recent alluvial formations, cut by frequent channels drawing water from the Meghna and having soil which is decidedly more sandy than to the east. North of the point at which the Gumti flows into the Katalia the line marking off the area under the influence of the Meghna is not distinct. The Meghna after the Titās falls into it near Nabinagar, takes a turn towards the west and continues in that direction for about 12 miles. Another Titās leaves it four miles west of Maniknagar Steamer Station and passes into a low tract east of Bānchārāmpur. It receives the waters of the Jamuna which leaves the Meghna four miles the other side of Maniknagar and the Dolbhānga Khāl which leaves just before the Meghna turns south again, as well as these of a number of *khāls* which drain the water of as many *bils*. The most important of the latter are the Chānduler Bil in Pāriakāndi, the Pārātali Bil in the village of the same name, the Bārāider Bil in Farādābad, Sātbila on the east of Salimābād and the Nālidaha Bil three miles north-east of Homnā. This Titās enters the Meghna again at Sripatir Char, but arms of it wind all over the area to the east of Homnā. Some connect with the Gumti by the Naluā river, others find their way through the area north of Gauripur into the Gumti itself and others fall into the Kātālīā. The Kātālīā river leaves the Meghna three miles below the point where the Titās enters it. It is wider than the other distributaries of the Meghna, carries a strong current and proceeds in a course not very meandering until the Gumti joins it just above Daudkandi. West of the Kātālīā the land is as definitely new alluvial formation as in the western part of Matlab *thana*. A century and-a-half ago the Meghna passed close to Daudkandi in one stream. From a point opposite it the track went with hardly more than one break to cross the old Brahmaputra as far as Nārāiganj where it crossed the Lakhia and so on to Dacca. The *chars* opposite Daudkandi were transferred to Tippera only in 1912 after they were surveyed in the Dacca Settlement Operations.

Communications.

17. The Assam-Bengal main line passes directly inland from Chandpur to Laksam where it bifurcates. One branch goes to Chittagong *via* Feni and the other passes Comilla, and, running for some distance parallel and close to eastern border of the district, passes Akhaura and a few miles further on crosses into Sylhet. It is metre-gauge and all but the mail-trains, one each way daily to Chittagong and Assam, are very slow. There is a branch line from Laksam to

Noakhali and another from Akhaura through Brāhmanbāri to Asuganj where there is a ferry steamer across the Meghna, and trains from Bhairab the other side run to Mymensingh and Tangi on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The subordinate railway staff is poorly paid and very inefficient and the trains always very crowded. Little thought is given to the comfort or convenience of the passengers.

18. The area round Comilla is for Eastern Bengal well supplied with roads. They are embanked and unmetalled and, though they do not keep such a good surface as those in Noakhali, they afford very useful means of communication. Most of Dacca-Chittagong Trunk Road existed before the Permanent Settlement but it was straightened in places and widened considerably at the time of the Second Burmese war. It crosses the district from Dāudkāndi to Comilla and from thence goes south through Chaudhagrām to Feni in Noakhali. In 1852 it was proposed to make it, all the way, the fine broad road it is in Feni subdivision of Noakhali. Most of that part of the road was new at that time. The old road from Comilla to Chittagong passed into the hills south-east of Chaudhagrām and thence by Leeke's Road through Chhagalnāia *thana* of Noakhali. South of Chaudhagrām on the Trunk Road the boundaries of the road and roadside lands were demarcated and all the bridges made of brick. North of Chaudhagrām and from Comilla to Dāudkāndi it appears that the same expenditure was not lavished on it, and except for widening and straightening it in places the old road was left much as it was before.

The road from Comilla to Lāksām is as old. Its continuation to Noakhali appears never to have been properly bridged. At a point some nine miles from Comilla a road branches off and passes *viā* Mudafarganj and Hājiganj to Chāndpur. It is narrow in places but carts can use it at all seasons of the year. A somewhat neglected road leaves it at Mudafarganj and goes *viā* Chitose Bāzār to Rānganj in Noakhali. As usually happens near the border of two districts, neither District Board is prepared to spend money to keep the communication open and it is not satisfactorily bridged. A very old road shown in Rennell's maps passed from Matlab through Faridganj to Lakshmipur in Noakhali. The road from Matlab to the Chāndpur-Comilla road is now only a footpath. The old road appears again south of the Chāndpur Khāl connected by a newer road with Chāndpur Old Bāzār, but it is in a bad state and is little used for cart traffic. The Dākāitiā river for all its windings is a better means of communication. Lāksām is connected with Chaudhagrām by a cart-road, but the southern most part of the district bordering Noakhali is very badly served. There communications are by boat when the *khāls* contain enough water, otherwise on foot across the fields. Some road communication is especially needed to connect the Monoharganj Bāzār with some point on the railway. Two roads pass from Comilla through Mainamati hills south of the Trunk Road. One goes to Lāl Mohan Bāzār and the other to Bārura. The latter was once a fine road, the section through the hills metalled and well engineered. The Maharaja of Tippera when the hills were sold to him agreed to maintain it, but he has never done so and has succeeded in avoiding the responsibility since the passing of the Road Cess Act. The present condition of this road does not now allow carts to pass by it through the hills and Bārura is reached by a road from the Comilla-Chāndpur road past the southern end of the range. Just as the Trunk Road from Comilla enters the hills a branch leaves it on the right hand side and goes to Jāfarganj and Companyganj on the Gumti. There is a ferry and the road the other side passes on as far as Nabinagar, but there are breaches that have never been bridged and other bridges have been allowed to fall into disrepair. There is a great need for a means of communication north and south across the high block in the centre of the district. There is a road running north from Elliotganj but it is not wide enough for cart traffic. A good road connecting Companyganj with Elliotganj and Hājiganj is very necessary for there is no possibility of boat traffic across this area except by devious *khāls* and by them only during the rains. From the north bank of the Gumti at Comilla a road runs through Kasba to Brāhmanbāria. It was formerly maintained in much better condition than

now, for it was the only route to Brāhmanbāria. There was always an unbridged stream on Kasba and a ferry over the Titās at Ujanewār, but now there are many breaches, especially between the Titās and Brāhmanbāria, and good iron bridges have been allowed to fall to pieces by neglect. In Brāhmanbāria subdivision almost the only road practicable for cart traffic is that from Brāhmanbāria to Sarāil. Roads suitable for cart traffic from points on the Assam-Bengal Railway just over the border in Sylhet to Chāndura, Fandāuk and Nāsirnagar would be very useful, but the miserable embankment maintained by the District Board from Chāndura to Hāraspur is useless in its present state. Mr. J. F. Browne, the Thak Survey Superintendent, in his report dated 1866 besides mentioning the roads that existed at that time gave the lines of five new roads which he considered were the first necessity to the improvement of the communications of the district, and in the next fifteen years it seems that his suggestions in the matter of canals as well as roads were accepted as a guide. The five new roads he urged should be constructed were :—

- (1) From Comilla due north to the borders of Sylhet.
- (2) From Mādāia Bāzār (between Barkāmta and Elliotganj) to Hājiganj.
- (3) Thorla to Kasba.
- (4) Gauripur to Thorla.
- (5) Mudafarganj to Chitose.

The first and fifth have been constructed. The road from Kasba to Kutī Bāzār completes half of the third. The second is as much a necessity to-day as sixty years ago. It would not have cost a quarter as much to have acquired the land and constructed it in 1870 as it would cost to-day. The road from Companyganj to Elliotganj if it were a cart-road and not a mere foot-path would well take the place of the fourth. Foot-paths are conveniences but do little towards opening out such a district as Tippera. It may be argued that there are very few carts used in the district and from that that communications by road are not much required. But on the contrary wherever there is a road wide enough for carts and satisfactorily bridged carts at once appear.

19. The embankments built to retain the Gumti when it is in flood have already been referred to. It is the only river which is restrained in this manner. Embankments are not used to retain water for irrigation purposes, nor anywhere else in the district to keep back flood waters except in a few of the *biṛs* on the eastern side of Brāhmanbāria. Small embankments are placed across the openings into some of them. These help the *boro*-paddy crop by keeping water in, but their main object is to keep out early flood water which may come down after rain in the hills and drown the *boro* crop before it can be cut. On seeing the flood beginning to rise, the tenants for instances in the Lungullā *biṛ* have time to reap the crop behind the protection temporarily afforded by the *band*, respite even for a few hours being sufficient. There are the remains of a very fine embankment and at one point on it a great brick bridge between Sarāil and Shāhabāzpur on the Titās. The latter was the nearest point to Sarāil to which big boats could come. The revenue of the Sarāil pargana was *nawāra*, i.e., devoted to the upkeep of a fleet of ships, part of the navy of the Moghul Representative at Dacca. There are the remains of brick quays at the end of the Shāhabāzpur embankment and it is not difficult to imagine it the anchorage and arsenal of a considerable fleet, and picture a long procession of elephants belonging to the Dewān of Sarāil passing at night between lines of torches * along the embankment carrying their master and his retinue down from his house to his *ghāt*. The bridge, the finest piece of architecture in the district, is now crumbling to ruin. Only a footpath runs along the embankment, which is

* Cultivators living near the embankment possessed (a few still exist) *Cheragi* holdings (rent-free) for the consideration that their women should hold torches when the Dewān Sāhibs wished to pass to Oushānpur at night.

now used mainly as a burial-ground, although in places there are huts on it and even *Panbaraj*, betel-leaf conservatories. There is the remains of an old embanked road passing in a south-easterly direction through the eastern part of Laksam *thana* and traces of it even across the border in Noakhali district. It is called Fakiruddin Sāhib's or Nuna Rāja's road. Traditionally Fakiruddin was a salt merchant of Sonārgāon who made a great fortune. He built this road as contractor for the Viceroy at Dacca during the long struggle against the Arracanese for the protection of Eastern Bengal and the capture of Chittagong. The embankment has been much encroached upon in places and, as it is, is no use as a thoroughfare, but the District Board could add many miles of useful road to what it at present maintains at comparatively little expense by restoring it. There is the remains of an embankment formed of the earth taken out when some old Rāja of Tippera excavated the Had khāl across the plain in a straight line in the direction from Akhaura towards Dacca.

20. At one time and another in this district much labour and money have been expended on improving, straightening and deepening natural drainage channels and in making new artificial cuts. The Chāndpur Khāl, excavated in 1872 to connect Chāndpur across the small neck of land east of it with the Dākāitiā river, has now grown into a considerable river navigable all the year round. There were two cuts excavated across the narrow neck between the bends of the Titās on each side of Brāhmanbāria, the Gokarna khāl through Brāhmanbāria itself and the Kurālia khāl through Ulchāpāra south of it. Neither of these are open all the year round and the latter is almost silted up. To re-excavate it is one of the proposals for assisting in the drainage of the lowlying land east of Brāhmanbāria, where the loss of much of the rice crop has been an annual occurrence since the railway embankment was constructed. None of the artificial cuts except the Chāndpur Khāl are now open to navigation all the year round. Most of them are completely dry for six months but during the remaining months they afford very valuable means of communication. Some of the most useful in the northern part of the district are the khāls running between Shāhibzpur, Sarāil and Pānishār on the Meghna, between Nāsirnagar and Gokarna on the Titās (not the village near Brāhmanbāria but another), the Jugidāra Khāl connecting the Buri river and the Jamuna through Ibrahimpur a some few miles south of Nabinagar, and the Had Khāl connecting the river called the Titās in the south of Nabinagar *thana* with the Buri and passing on towards Agartala. There are also a number of short artificial cuts which drain the water out of the *bils* of Nabinagar into the arms of the same Titās. The high block in the middle of the district is intersected by khāls which were excavated to serve the dual purpose of drawing off the surplus water in the rains and affording means of communication. The system seems to have been admirably planned and well serves its purpose. All the khāls of the system follow natural courses for part of their length. They afford waterways connected during the rains with the Gumti, the Meghna and the Dākāitiā. The main arteries of the system are the Boāljiuri Khāl and the Courjon Khāl. The Boāljiuri Khāl passes from Hājiganj to Sāchār where it has two branches, one going to Elliotganj whence the Kālādumuria Khāl takes it on to the Gumti at Pānchpukuria, and the other communicating with the Machuakhāli Khāl, a channel improved by excavation, which, leaving the Meghna near Sāitnal, makes a circuit and enters it again some 6 miles above Chāndpur. The Courjon Khāl begins near Barkāmta, and draining a strip of land which otherwise has no good means of drainage passes to Mudafarganj and on into the Dākāitiā. It has numerous tributary khāls of which the most important is the Bakshiganj Khāl which connects it with the Boāljiuri Khāl and drains the comparatively low basin in the centre of which is the Rām Mohan *Jalā* (swamp). The Courjon Khāl is named after a Frenchman who landed in Chittagong with Delauney another of the same nationality early in the last century almost penniless. Courjon was a clerk in the Collectorate and afterwards became Manager for the Raja in Chakla Rasnābād. He was perhaps somewhat unscrupulous but a man of great ability. He made a large fortune by taking farming leases of parts of Roshnābād and became one of the most important *Zamīndārs* east of the Meghna. The whole of Pargana

Kasba lying round Bārua was his, and the *khā* was constructed to drain this *pargana*. It is now maintained by the District Board as are most of the other *khāls* of the system and is the property of Government. A few of the others are private property maintained by the District Board, *e. g.*, the Bakshiganj *khāl* which belongs to the proprietors of Dallāi Pargana through which it runs. There are more roads round Barura than in most of the district, and the example of the Coutjon Khāl and these roads has roused even the local people to show some spirit of self-help. Small *khāls* and neat raised footpaths made by cultivators and small middlemen are a feature of this area as they are of no other part of the district. The District Board has helped in the excavation and re-excavation of some *khāls* but does not pay sufficient attention to keeping them open. Fisherman and others are too fond of putting small embankments across them in order to catch the fish and sometimes *boro*-paddy is sown in the bed of the channel. Even the best landlords do not hesitate to realize rent from fishermen for the right to fish in the District Board *khāls* running through their estates. They pay by the number of *bands* they put across the *khāl* for fishing purposes. Apparently in the seventies of last century an attempt was made to connect Comilla by water with the Dākāitiā river and a stream, passing along the eastern side of the Māināmati Hills into the Dākāitiā in the northernmost corner of Lāksām *thana* was deepened and extended up to a point just south of the Settlement Office in Comilla where the drain through the jail falls into it. Though communication by boat from Comilla is no longer necessary, this *khāl* is an important one for drainage purposes. Not only does it take off the surface drainage of part of the town but there is annually the danger that the Gumti embankment may give way. If it does so at any point between Comilla and the Mainamati Hills this *khāl* is the main drain for taking off the flood-water. The bed of the *khāl*, which is vested in Government and is included in the Collector's Register BII, had almost been raised to the level of the fields through which it runs. *Bands* had been placed across it by fishermen and cultivators, and sometimes paddy sown in it. The District Board has lately undertaken its re-excavation in the few miles nearest Comilla, but the bed requires to be deepened down to the Dākāitiā. Another very valuable *khāl* which has been suffering from *bands* having been placed across it by fishermen is the Nāodona *Khāl*, which connects the Dākāitiā with Nāodona Hāt in Noakhali whence boats can go to Noakhali town *via* Sonāimuri and Chaumohani. The matter is one to which the District Board might well turn its attention.

21. From Gauripur on the Gumti to Nabinagar is 29 miles as the crow

A neglected area.

flies. The straight line joining these two points does not fall near a single road except at each end. In the middle of last century there were police-stations at these two places but none in between. The transfer of the *thana* from Gauripur to Dāudkāndi placed it still further from Nabinagar. More recently police-stations have been located at Homnā and Bānchārāmpur. From the earliest days of the British Administration the stretch of the Meghna from Dāudkāndi to the latitude Nabinagar was recognized as the haunt of river dacoits and right through last century this form of crime went on unchecked on the Meghna and in the net-work of streams connected with it and winding through this part of Tippera. The jurisdiction of the present police-stations of Nabinagar and Bānchārāmpur is within Brāhmanbāria Subdivision, that of Homnā and Dāudkāndi in the Sadar Subdivision. Though it is so far, people from Bānchārāmpur can get almost all the way to Brāhmanbāria by boat. To get from near Homnā to Comilla is a matter of very great difficulty and it is small wonder that the journey is seldom undertaken. The passage by the winding Gumti especially as it must often be made against a strong stream affords no facility. In this area many of the estates belong to people of Dacca district. All the merchants engaged in the distribution-trade of cloth, oil, etc., draw their supplies from Narainganj, to which also all the agricultural produce that is exported, jute, rice, etc., finds its way. The area is completely cut off from Comilla. None of the people have business connections with Comilla and they resort to it for justice as little as possible. The area is on the other hand neglected by the authorities at Comilla and ignored by such bodies as the District and Local Board.

22. The District Administration Commission after its enquires in 1913-14 proposed to form a new subdivision of this area and the parts inland from it. Already the Sadar Subdivision of Tippera has been divided into two. The second Subdivisional Officer still

Proposal of District Administration Commission to form a new subdivision.

has his headquarters at Comilla, but it is shortly to be transferred to Bākarnagar, a few miles on the road from Companyganj towards Nabinagar. The site has many historical associations as having been the headquarters of the original *Zimindārs* of Pargaña Baradākhāt which covers most of this part of the district. A survey has been made for a railway from Rājāpur on the line between Comilla and Akhaura to Rāmchandrapur an important *bāzār* on the western border of Murādnagar *thana*. Though it is unlikely that this railway will divert much of the agricultural produce of these parts to Chittagong instead of Narainganj, it will form an easy means of communication with Comilla. It will pass a little south of the new Subdivisional headquarters and afford a means for the people of Homnā and Bānchārāmpur to get to Bākarnagar after going to Rāmchandrapur by boat, but it will not by itself sufficiently open up this area. Roads radiating west from Bākarnagar are the first necessity to meet the needs of the people.

Population.

23. The total population of the district in the Census of 1911 was returned 2,430,138 and the average density per square mile 972. The average density *thana* by *thana* was as follows:—

Sadar Subdivision	...	...	...	...	962
Comilla	...	...	...	...	1,100
Dāudkāndi	...	...	...	...	1,188
Murādnagar	...	...	...	...	1,104
Chandina	...	...	...	...	761
Chauddagrām	...	...	...	...	900
Lāksām	...	...	...	...	736
Brāhmanbāria Subdivision	...	...	...	...	985
Brāhmanbāria	...	...	...	...	885
Kasba	...	...	...	...	1,016
Nabinagar	...	...	...	...	1,126
Chāndpur Subdivision	...	...	...	...	968
Chāndpur	...	...	...	...	1,149
Hājiganj	...	...	...	...	747
Matlab	...	...	...	...	1,074

It is seen therefore that the greatest density was in the *thanas* bordering the Meghna from Nabinagar to Chāndpur. In these *thanas*, Nabinagar, Dāudkandī, Matlab, and Chāndpur the average was 1,137. After these *thanas* came Comilla, Murādnagar, Kasba and Chauddagrām. The average density in the three *thanas* Kasba, Comilla and Chuddagrām bordering the eastern side of the district and mainly comprising the property of the Maharaja of Tippera, Chakla Roshnābād, was 1,008. The strip down the middle of the district was generally much less densely populated with the exception of Murādnagar *thana*. The average in Brāhmanbāria was 885 and in the three *thanas* Chāndina, Hājiganj and Lāksām no more than 748. In 1872 the average density over the whole district, which then included Chhagalnaia *thana* of Noakhali, while the Noakhali boundary, which had not yet been rectified, followed an irregular line determined by the *parganas* to which the border villages belonged, was 584. Chhagalnaia *thana* raised rather than lowered the average. In 1881 after the transfer of Chhagalnaia and the rectification of the boundary it was 608, in 1891 713,* in 1901† 847, and in

* A certain area was transferred to Mymensingh between 1881 and 1891.

† There have been considerable changes due to diluvion and alluvion along the Meghna, but the total area of each *thana* has varied very little.

1911* 972. In no *thana* has the population between one census and the next since 1881 decreased, and the increase, not so great between 1872 and 1881, has been phenomenal since. The average density in each *thana* in 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 stands compared as follows :—

				Average density of population.			
				1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
<i>Sadar</i> Subdivision—							
Comilla	...	...		774	877	985	1,100
Daudkandi	...	...		699	844	1,007	1,188
Murādnagar	...	...		677	786	910	1,043
Chandina	...	...		456	542	644	761
Chauddagrām	...	...		633	716	819	900
Laksām	...	...		441	525	634	738
Brāhmanbāria Subdivision—							
Brāhmanbāria	...	...		637	694	794	885
Kasba	...	...		727	811	915	1,016
Nabinagar	...	...		734	858	998	1,126
Chāndpur Subdivision—							
Chāndpur	...	...		521	711	972	1,149
Hājiganj	...	...			488	629	747
Matlab	...	...		462 {	736	910	1,070

In 1881 the density was greatest in Comilla *thana*. Next came Nabinagar and Kasba close together, and Daudkandi stood fourth. Daudkandi had passed Kasba in 1891 and stood first in 1901 when Nabinagar also had passed Comilla. The increase in Chāndpur *thana* has been the most remarkable. Between 1881 and 1911 its population increased by more than 120 per cent. and that of Matlab increased almost as fast. The *thanas* bordering on the Meghna have now generally gone ahead of the *thanas* bordering the east side of the district. During the decade before 1911 the greatest increase was in Hājiganj, Chandina, Chāndpur, Daudkandi, Matlab and Laksām in that order, which shows that the less thickly peopled block in the centre of the southern half of the district, although far behind in the race, has begun to gain ground. Brāhmanbāria was only able to show the same rate of increase as the eastern *thanas* and during the present decade in which floods have brought scarcity to it in three seasons it may be expected to have fallen further behind.

24. The Revenue Surveyors (1861-64) counted the number of houses, and, assuming 5 persons to a house, put the population of the district at 717,470. The census of 1872 showed that the assumption of 5 persons to a house was a correct one, but the fact that the Revenue Survey figure is only just half that of the census of 1872, shows that the Revenue Surveyors and the census enumerators must have adopted very different definitions of the word house. The District Magistrate in 1858 put the population at a little over a million souls. His was only a guess and although not a bad guess is of no value for statistical purposes. Earlier attempts at enumeration there were none. The official correspondence of the time of the Permanent Settlement and before indicates that Chakla Rosnabad was more closely cultivated and more thickly peopled than the other parts. After it the most prosperous part of the district and that containing least uncultivated land was Pargana Baradakhat which covers most of Nābinagar and Muradnagar *thanas* and part of Daudkandi. It appears, therefore, that the parts of the district still found to be the centres of greatest density of population in 1881, namely, Nabinagar and Muradnagar *thanas*, representing Pargana Baradakhat, and Kasba, Comilla and Chauddagram, representing Chakla Rosnabad, were the centres of greatest density at the end of the 18th century. The backward state of the south-western corner of the district after the Permanent Settlement will be described later. In about 1840 *parganas* Gunanandi, Purchandi, Dollai and parts of Mehār, Sakdi, Tora and Singhergāon covering a third of Chāndpur and Hājiganj *thanas* had been sold for

*There have been considerable changes due to diluvion and alluvion along the Meghna, but the total area of each *thana* has varied very little.

arrears of revenue and bought by Government as there were no bidders. At the time of the Revenue Survey a much greater proportion of the area of this part was recorded as jungle than any other part of the district, and Mr. Brown, the Superintendent of the Revenue Survey, reported that the area was still considered unhealthy. A number of Tipperas, the Mongoloid tribe inhabiting Hill Tippera, settled in the locality in the middle of the century and began clearing the jungle. Now very little remains and almost all the Tippera families have gone back to their hills. The betelnut tree which now flourishes exceedingly and jute which has been introduced have now made the south-western part the richest in the district and the enormous increase in the population of recent years is thus accounted for.

25. The district is essentially an agricultural district. Of the 2,430,138 persons enumerated in 1911 2,014,285 or 82·89 per cent. were returned as dependent upon agriculture for their living, 1,897,709 or 78·09 per cent. of the total population were ordinary cultivators, the rest being indirectly supported by agriculture as follows :—

As field labourers ...	58,288 or 2·40 of the population.
By growing special crops ...	4,877 or ·20 „
By stock raising and pasture ...	10,021 or ·41 „
By receipt of rent ...	39,684 or 1·63 „
As landlords' agents ...	6,604 or ·27 „

The proportion of field labourers though higher than in Faridpur and Noakhali is not so high as in Dacca, Mymensingh and Bakarganj. Besides them 74,867 were enumerated as ordinary labourers and included among the non-agricultural classes. These are persons who are not above doing earth-work, such as cutting a tank or raising an embankment. In ordinary circumstances the dignity of the cultivator and the field labourer will not allow him to do earth-work for payment although he may allow himself to do it on his own land.

26. The correctness of the census figures for rent receivers is open to question, for the definition accepted by the census authorities was not altogether satisfactory. Though the figures may not be correct absolutely, they will, however, lead to reliable conclusions when the number of rent-receivers in different districts is being compared. In Tippera according to the census one man receives rent for every 48 who pay. The proportion in other parts of Bengal is as follows :—

In Chittagong there is one rent-receiver to 12 rent-payers.

In Dacca	„	„	21	„
In Barisal	„	„	23	„
In Faridpur	„	„	23	„
In Noakhali	„	„	34	„
In Mymensingh	„	„	48	„
In Rajshahi Division	„	„	58	„
But in Burdwan Division	„	„	16	„ (only).
and in the Presidency Division	„	„	14	„ „

for the number of rent-receivers in Jessore and Khulna is very large.

27. Where proprietary and middle interests are specially complicated or minutely subdivided, the number of agents it is necessary to employ as rent-collectors is greater than where the land system is simple and the interest of each landlord is extensive. Landlords do not in most parts of Bengal pay their agents a living wage, and even if they did the agents would continue to supplement it by exactions from the tenants. When such exactions are easily obtained men are found ready to accept the landlords' service for a merely nominal wage, and the number who are so employed increases in proportion as the tenants are incapable of defending themselves from such exactions and these

persons are able to batten on them without difficulty. In Tippera landlords' agents are one to every 287 rent-payers, and the following statements show how the state of things compares with that prevailing elsewhere in Bengal :—

In Chittagong there is one landlord's agent to 201 rent-payers.

In Dacca	"	"	84	"
In Bakargaj	"	"	99	"
In Faridpur	"	"	150	"
In Mymensingh	"	"	216	"
In Noakhali	"	"	289	"
In Burdwan Division	"	"	124	"
In Presidency Division	"	"	88	"
In Rajshahi Division	"	"	201	"

It is not safe to conclude from these figures that landlords' agents, for instance, in Dacca are able to live on the tenants more easily than in Rajshahi, for the complication and minute division of landlords' interests in Dacca renders more rent-collectors necessary than in Rajshahi. Other considerations too affect the case. In the 24-Parganas an increased number of agents may be necessary because the owners of many small middle interests are employed in Calcutta who, if their property was in Eastern Bengal, might be expected to live on it and supervise the collection of their own rents. Bikrampur is in a similar position. But the number of landlords' agents in Noakhali is proportionally smaller than anywhere in the Province although the size of the average landlords' and middlemen's interests is not conspicuously large or peculiarly simple and conditions are not otherwise abnormal. This is a remarkable advertisement of the fact that Noakhali, is a district where the tenants are very well able to look after themselves and where landlords' agents are not easily able to enrich themselves by illegitimate exactions from them. Though the landlords' agents in Tippera are almost as few in proportion to the rent-payers as in Noakhali, this does not show the Tippera tenants quite so well able to look after themselves. The system of land-tenure is on the whole simpler and the rent-receivers proportionately fewer. The tenure system is not, however, as simple as in Mymensingh or in the Rajshahi Division, although the number of landlords' agents is proportionately much smaller. The comparison of the number of landlords' agents in Tippera with those in Mymensingh and Northern Bengal shows how much better able to look after himself the Tippera cultivator is than the cultivators in those parts.

28. The non-agricultural classes, only 17.11 per cent. of the population, find their living as follows :—

as labourers	...	...	...	74,867
by fishing	...	...	...	34,348
by weaving	...	...	...	29,860
as priests	...	...	...	21,212
as dealers in oil, etc.	...	...	...	19,814
" in betelnut and leaf	...	...	...	16,113
" in fish	...	...	...	12,630
as money-lenders	...	...	...	11,600
as carpenters	...	...	...	11,312
as barbers	...	...	...	10,318
as boatmen	...	...	...	9,767
as potters	...	...	...	9,618
as traders in piece-goods	...	...	...	9,327
as makers of imitation jewellery, etc.	...	...	...	8,992
as washermen	...	...	...	7,302

and in a number of occupations which employ each a smaller number. The proportion which these numbers bear to the total population are generally

much the same as in other districts of Eastern Bengal. Beggars are numerous as usual in a district where the population is comparatively well-off. There are to be found in Muradnagar instances in which Muhammadan loafers have married three or four women and sent them all out begging while they live on their gains. The non-agricultural population is predominantly Hindu. Though Muhammadan cultivators supplement their diet with fish of their own catching, none are exclusively employed as some of the Hindu castes are in the pursuit. The number of Muhammadans engaged in weaving is infinitesimal and none are barbers, potters or washerman.

The Bengal Home Industries Association has been doing its best to help and encourage the beginnings of certain local industries beside weaving. There are basket workers who are capable of turning out work for which there is a market in Calcutta. Mother-of-pearl buttons made from the shells of a species of fresh water mussel common in the north of Tippera are turned out in considerable numbers, and there has for some time been a match factory at Kālikāchha just north of Sarāil. It is difficult, however, for such industries in such a locality to face competition from outside. The Japanese can undersell them with ease. Both matches and buttons are brought from Japan and sold in the district cheaper than the local products. The workers in these parts see their neighbours engaged in agriculture obtaining a much better return for less labour. They have been used to a life of little employment if not of ease for many generations, and expect too high payment, not for the time they spend but for the amount of work they do in it. The inhabitants of the country east of the Meghna are the very reverse of industrious. The same characteristic appears at every turn. The wages of coolies are not high compared with the level in other Bengal districts, but it seems that the day's work is a very poor one and the rates which have to be paid for piece-work, for instance in excavating a tank, are very high. This is not a new condition of things. More than 50 years ago Mr. J. F. Browne, the "Civil Superintendent" of the Revenue Survey, in his general report wrote "The price of labour in this district is very high as compared with many other parts of Bengal. The monthly hire of a coolie is no less than five rupees and the amount of work performed by them is so small that their services would be dear at two rupees." Moreover not only the work of a coolie but all kinds of manual labour are despised. There is in parts a race of Muhammadans called *behārās* who carry *palkis*. Because they do this the ordinary Muhammadan cultivator will not eat with them. In other parts because local people consider themselves above such work, *palkis* are carried by upcountry Hindus who come to Chāndpur in the cold weather and go back to their own country when the rains come and boats become the regular means of conveyance. The pressure of the population on the soil is not yet sufficient to move the ordinary cultivator from his life of *otium cum dignitate* and, in the meantime, industry must await his pleasure.

29. The percentage of the whole population of the district in 1911 that was Hindu was 27·67. In 1901 it was 29·38, in 1891 31·2 and in 1872 35·2. Conversion for all practical purposes may be ignored. The number of converts is infinitesimal. The increasing predominance of the Muhammadans is due to the much higher birth-rate among them than among the Hindus. Between 1901 and 1911 the Hindus increased only 8·1 per cent., the Muhammadans 17·5 per cent. The increase was least, only 1·01 per cent., among the *Namasudras* whose women are nearly ten per cent. fewer than the men. The prosperous *Shāhas*, on the other hand, increased 14·8 per cent.

The following castes among the Hindus number more than 5,000 :—

<i>Namasudras</i>	... 116,578	Almost all cultivators, their numbers are greatest in Brāhmanbāria, 28,153, Chāndpur, 14,630, Matlab, 13,659, and Nabināgar 10,031 and smallest in the south-eastern part of the district.
<i>Kāyasthas</i>	... ~3,248	Most numerous in Chāndpur and Muradnagar where they are commonly small middlemen.
<i>Jugis</i>	... 77,975	Scattered all over the district but fewer in the south-west.

<i>Kaibarttas</i>	...	76,945	29,843	<i>Mahisya Kaibarttas</i> (cultivators) and 47,102 <i>Jālia Kaibarttas</i> (fishermen and boatmen) most numerous in Brāhmanbāria (26,664), and Nabinagar (11,691) and few in the centre and south-east of the district.
<i>Shāhās</i>	...	50,756		Shopkeepers and merchants, some of them gradually working their way into the land-tenure system as middlemen. They are few in the south-east of the district. The women of this caste are 5 per cent. more than the men.
<i>Nāpits</i>	...	23,135		Engaged in cultivation in addition to their caste-occupation as barbers, they are equally distributed all over the district.
<i>Brāhmanas</i>	...	27,580		Priests and middlemen in the land system; women are 11 per cent. fewer than the men; to be found all over the district, but few in Pargana Honinābād which has always belonged to Muhammadans.
<i>Dhopā</i>	...	21,140		Engaged in agriculture in addition to their caste-occupation as washermen.
<i>Sudras</i>	...	20,986		The Hindu caste of domestic servants.
<i>Sutradhars</i>	...	16,259		Carpenters.
<i>Bārais</i>	...	15,877		Growers of betel, a prosperous community.
<i>Bhumālis</i>	...	12,859		Cultivators in addition to their occupation as scavengers.
<i>Goālās</i>	...	12,543		Herdsmen and cultivators.
<i>Kumārs</i>	...	12,079		Potters; most numerous in the north of the district; a comparatively prosperous community.
<i>Kājālis</i>	...	11,920		
<i>Mālos</i>	...	10,437		Fishermen; most numerous in Brāhmanbāria. Their number actually decreased between 1901 and 1911.
<i>Telis</i>	...	8,589		
<i>Lātnis</i>	...	6,665		
<i>Baisnabs</i>	...	6,198		
<i>Karmakārs</i>	...	6,146		
<i>Baiduas</i>	...	5,489		

30. The *Namasudras* are literally a depressed class. Where they are most numerous is where they have survived by retreating into the swamps in the northern part of

The *Namasudras*. the district. It is principally *Namasudras* who are annually affected by the loss of their crops in the lowlying area east of Brāhmanbāria, and they who seem to have suffered worse than any others in the floods which have produced scarcity in other parts of the subdivision. In Chāndpur and Sadar Subdivisions they are, however, beginning to raise their heads. They object strongly to their old appellations *Chandal*, *Changa*, etc., and these have not at all been used in the record-of-rights. But in one part the area just to the west of the Mainamati Hills, where some of them have become affluent, it was found that they were trying to use the Settlement record to establish to themselves such titles as *Bhaumik*, *Mazumdār*, *Hāldār*, *Biswās* and *Mandal* which they had never used before and by which they would not be recognized by their neighbours. Feeling in some villages ran high, the agents of the landlords Rājā Hrishikesh Lāhā, etc., and other villagers taking sides against the *Namasudras*. The landlords' agents wanted payment for removing the title of *Changa* from their books. The officers engaged in the preparation of the record were instructed to write no one down as *Changa*, only to record such names as *Bhaumik*, etc., when their use was established, and otherwise to use the word *Nama* which would be understood by every one. The *Namasudras* were not satisfied with this. They said that the officers in the locality were high caste Hindus and were prejudiced against them. Ultimately a deputation of the most influential *Namasudras* met me. The members promised to send a list of those of their community who really had established titles such as those already quoted, and it was agreed that these persons only should be recorded according to the list, while others should be written down

"*Nama*". The members of the deputation behaved in a very straightforward and business-like manner. Their list contained only some 150 names and no other *Namasudras* complained afterwards of the manner of the record.

31. In Moghul times weaving was the staple industry of this part of Bengal. In the 17th century there were numerous weavers in the estates of the Rāja of Tippera. The *Jugis*. in the plains, but the homes of the industry east of the Meghna were in Bhulua Pargana of Noakhali and in Parganas Baradākhāt and Sarāil in Tippera. The greatest numbers of families of the weaver caste are found to-day in Murādnagar, Brāhmanlāria and Nabinagar *thanas* which are for the most part covered by Sarāil and Baradākhāt. The *Tanjib* cloth of Sarāil shared the fame of the Dacca muslins. Writing of Baradākhāt pargana in 1789 David Patterson who was employed in preparing a rent-roll for it said "the cloths that he (the cultivator) wears are in general produced from the cotton grown on his own land, spun by his wife and delivered to a weaver in the same village who is paid for his work in grain." Cotton, Patterson found, was grown to a certain extent by every cultivator, "raietts whose land will not admit of cotton being grown taking up land in other places proper for it." It was a troublesome crop to grow but the cultivators' women folk would spin it and a good price was to be obtained for the yarn. The cloth was not of good quality "being of thick wooly quality, in no way durable and short in length and breadth". The weaving industry is now almost dead, killed by competition with the machinery of Manchester, although there are still to be found a few *jugis* who live by their traditional occupation. In spinning the local industry was at once defeated. The *charkas* were crude and those who used them had not sufficient power of application. The thread was uneven and easily broken, far inferior to imported thread, which has been used for many decades while the textile industry has maintained its long drawn fight for existence. Though something may be done to revive the weaving industry all attempts to spin thread by hand to compete with that made by machinery are foredoomed to failure. The majority of the *jugis* have given up their caste occupation, and, as they usually consider agricultural pursuits beneath their dignity, from being a useful element in the community they, nearly 80,000 persons, have now been added to the number of the drones that batten upon the agricultural classes. They are sometimes found to be in very poor circumstances, but most of them have worked their way into the tenure system as small middlemen or are money-lenders. Of late years some of them have taken to calling themselves "Deb Nāth" instead of "Nāth" and their women "Debi" like Brāhmin women. Their co-villagers will not, however, admit them to such appellations. In Muradnagar *thana* there was great deal of ill-feeling over an attempt of some of them to use the Settlement record to establish the superior title. They stated that they were *jogis* (ascetics) and not *Jugis* (weavers) and as high born as the Brāhmins. But outside their own families it was found that no one knew them as "Deb Nāth" and that they had always written themselves plain "Nāth" in documents more than a few years old. It is becoming the fashion for Hindus of all but the highest castes in these parts to find fault with the names their fathers have borne. Even the washerman has begun to find the appellation of Dhobi detractive to his dignity and to try to induce others to call him *Suchakar*!

32. Some of the fisher castes in the northern part of the district are in good circumstances. A considerable quantity of fish leaves Brāhmanbāria, Akhaura and the first few stations north of it along the main line, by every train for Comilla, Feni and even Chittagong, and much larger quantities go by boat to Dacca all through the cold weather. Quantities are dried and exported to Burma where they fetch a very good price. A number of families rent the fishing of a *bil*. Their method is usually to place two fences or *bands* across the outlet at a short distance apart. They invite all the villagers round to join them with spears, the familiar round basket-traps with holes at the top through which anything caught is taken out, casting nets and other implements and form a line to advance gradually and drive the fish into the space between the two fences through contrivances of gates which will not allow them to get back

into the *bil*. Out of this space they take them at their convenience to be exported fresh or to be dried. In former days before the universal use of kerosine, the heads and guts of the fish were removed before drying and oil extracted from them. Now the oil is not worth the trouble of extracting and the fish are as often as not dried without being cleaned. The method of fishing employed in the streams and rivers is different. A mass of branches of trees is put down at a selected spot and plants of the water-hyacinth are accumulated over them. Among the branches in the shadow the big fish collect. After a time a net is put round the spot reaching to the the bottom of the water. This is looped up about a couple of feet above the water so that it sags down again outside to water-level. The water-hyacinth and the branches are removed, and the water stirred so that in fright the big fish jump and are caught in the sagging portion of the net, where they lie half in and half out of the water, till the fishermen can dispose of them. It is very entertaining to watch a number of big fish being caught in this way, but there is no doubt that the method employed does real harm in fostering the growth of the water-hyacinth. It spreads fast without any encouragement and in the last three years has become a dangerous enemy both to the cultivator and to the boatman. Yet none can be persuaded to go to the trouble of destroying any of it, though the cultivators recognize that it is becoming a scourge and in some places have christened it "the German." There is much system in the trade by which fish are carried off to Dacca and elsewhere, middlemen who have arrangements with the fishermen sending round boats to collect the catch. No less than 12,630 persons were returned as fish dealers in 1911. In the higher parts of the district there is an opening of which little avail is made for the business of rearing fish for the market in the innumerable tanks that are to be found. Spawn is sometimes brought from Chittagong, and the fry, after being kept in a small pond for a time till they are big enough to avoid the voracious fish of certain species which are to be found in all old tanks and live on the young of their own or other species, let loose in the tanks, but though the profit to be obtained is very large the business does not appeal to the people of the locality, who are not prepared to wait so long for the return of the money as the 3 or 4 years which it requires for *katla* fish to grow to their full size. The *Namasudra's* method of draining every drop of water out of a tank and taking every fish out of it however small it may be, is leading to the extinction of the *kai* fish for which the area south of Lāksām was once famous.

The Muhammadans. 33. The Muhammadans form 72·2 per cent. of the whole population, but the percentage varies considerably from *thana* to *thana* as the following figures show :—

						Proportion of Muhammadans in the whole population
						Per cent.
<i>Sadar</i> Subdivision :—						
Comilla thana	...	...	...	...	...	74·3
Dāudkāndi thana	...	...	...	...	...	80·4
Murādnagar	..	...	...	...	...	70·5
Chāndina	..	...	...	...	...	76·3
Chaudhagrām	..	...	...	...	...	80·1
Lāksām	..	...	...	...	...	82·8
<i>Brāhmanbāria</i> Subdivision :—						
Brāhmanbāria thana	...	...	...	...	...	58·7
Kasba	..	...	...	...	...	56·9
Nabinagar	..	...	...	...	...	71·4
<i>Chāndpur</i> Subdivision :—						
Chāndpur thana	...	...	...	...	...	71·2
Hājiganj	..	...	...	...	...	79·9
Matlab	..	...	...	...	...	78·7

The proportion is highest where the number of low caste Hindus, especially *Namasudrās* and *Kaibartas*, is least, in the south-eastern part of the district and lowest where these are most numerous. The Muhammadans are almost

all Sunis of the Hanifi sect and the majority of them were returned at the time of the census as Sheikhs. Others were counted as follows :—

<i>Bediya</i>	...	...	...	...	...	3,439
<i>Dai</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,552
• <i>Nagurchi</i>	...	...	...	...	...	5,772
<i>Pathans</i>	...	...	...	...	...	3,379
<i>Saiad</i>	...	...	...	...	...	3,235
<i>Sonar</i>	...	...	...	...	...	821

and a few besides.

There is little doubt that a number of those who called themselves Saiad or Pathan were rarely of the same stock as the Sheikhs, but having risen in the world, had assumed the appellations without any better justification for doing so than their own imagination gave them. There are, however, certain old families whose descent can be traced to something different from the common stock, *e.g.*, the Homnābād *Zamindars*, the Dewānji family former *Zamindars* of Sarāil and Sāiad family of Gokarna. There is no doubt either, that numbers of persons whose ancestors had been *Kulus* (oil-pressers) and *Jolahās* (weavers) refused to be considered other than Sheikhs. The *Gāins*, 370 only, were not enumerated in any other district. They live in boats and engage in fishing when not occupied in breaking the law for they are notorious thieves and river dacoits. Their diminished number is accounted for by the fact that those of them who have acquired some property desire to dissociate themselves from a race against which every man's hand is turned.

The Muhammadan population is almost entirely agricultural. The majority of those who have raised themselves to the position of middlemen and subsist as rent-receivers and as *beparis*, small collecting agents in the jute and betelnut trades, are of the same stock as the cultivators. In the three little towns Comilla, Brāhmanbāria and Chāndpur some of them have become shopkeepers. What tailors there are, are almost always Muhammadans. Their number is not inconsiderable and their stock-in-trade is always a "Singer" sewing machine. When quite a small *bāzār* was burnt down a few months ago no less than 36 sewing machines were destroyed before they could be rescued.

34. The Muhammadans are very devout and a visitor to the districts

Muhammadan revivalist movements.

east of the Meghna from another part of Bengal cannot fail to notice at once what a large part religion plays in the life of the people. The im-

pression is not obtained quite as quickly in Tippera as in Noakhali and the fact is more obvious in the southern than in the northern part of the district. The predominance of the Muhammadans in numbers by no means accounts for this. There have been revivalist movements in these parts for the last century and they have stirred the population to its depths.

35. At the beginning of the 19th century when the followers of Raja

The Farāzis.

Rām Mohan Ray founded the *Brāhma Samāj*, a great reformer Moulānā Sariatulla began to preach

a return to the simplicity of the early Muhammadan faith. He was born in 1765 in the district of Faridpur, ran away from home to Calcutta at the age of 15 and there studied Arabic for some time under a famous Moulānā Basaratāli by name, after which he went to live with an uncle at Murshidābād. When he and his uncle were proceeding to visit the family home in Faridpur, the boat in which they were travelling was upset in the Ganges, and all the occupants but the boy Sariatulla drowned. The shock seems to have determined him to devote his life to religion and he went to Mecca with his former tutor Basaratāli. There he studied eight years under the theologist Sheikh Muhammad Tāher Sambal, who belonged to the Hanifi school and was formally recognised with the title of Moulānā Sariatulla-al-Kādari. He travelled in Palestine, Syria and Egypt and returned to his home in 1800 in the garb of Sufi *Fakir*, but his preachings did not make much impression on his countrymen and his ill-success sent him wandering again. He went all over India, through Persia to Palestine and Mecca where he made a long stay, and returned home again in 1819. This time his countrymen flocked to hear him and he became the founder of the *Farāzi* sect whose tenets were

puritanical, who abjured music, dancing and anything which savoured of frivolity and forbade such practice as sacrifice at the tombs of holy men, to the Hindu Goddess Kāli, etc., which had become common. Before Sariatulla died in 1833 the *Farāzī* teaching had spread over all the middle of Bengal and had reached Tippera and Noakhali. He had been a man of peace. His son and successor as leader of the *Farāzīs*, Ghāzi Mohsanuddin Ahmed or Dudu Miān, led the same simple honest life as his father, but got into trouble with the Hindu *Zamindārs* and others. He forbade his followers to pay the customary *abwābs* taken by their landlords at *puja* times and the unrest which followed brought the sect into collision with the authorities. One oppressive landlord was done to death by a band headed by Dudu Miān and he was imprisoned. Released at the time of the Mutiny, died in Dacca in 1862.

36. The country east of the Meghna absorbed the *Farāzī* teaching and there were very many converts to the sect, but here another doctrine, really differing from it very little, appeared and carried the wave of religious enthusiasm onwards. The *Wāhabī* movement was started by one Syed Ahmed, an Arab, who left Mecca about 1820. The movement was another return to the original simple faith. The instructions of the Korān regarding the *Juma* (Friday) prayers and *Id* prayers are that they are to be read only in towns and in the presence of a representative of the King. The *Wāhabīs* held that they could not be read in a country such as India where the ruling power was not Muhammadan, and the movement took the form of a holy war. The leader was killed in an affray on the borders of the Punjab against Kharag Singh, one of the successors of Ranjit Singh. With him at the time of his death was the Moulānā Imāmuddin, a native of Sādullapur in Noakhali, who returned to his home and began to preach the doctrine of a simple faith which his master had taught, but without inciting his hearers to a *jahād*. His tenets were not much different from those of the *Farāzīs*. The main points he insisted on were the same purity and simplicity of faith and practice which the *Farāzī* leaders preached. His influence extended throughout Noakhali and most of Tippera. Very little detailed information is obtainable concerning him.

§7. The Moulānā Kerāmat Ali appeared on the scene much later. He was a native of Jainpur and his father Vilāyat Ali who had been a disciple of Syed Ahmed, brought him up in the *Wāhabī* tradition from his earliest youth. Later he gave himself out as belonging to the "Reformed Hanifi School" and held that the reading of the *Juma* and *Id* prayers in this country was lawful. His preaching was greedily accepted in Noakhali where he stayed several years and married. In 1870 when the lower class Muhammadan community in parts of Bengal was becoming excited by a recrudescence of the preaching of the original *Wāhabī* tenets, Moulānā Kerāmat Ali gave an exposition of the law on the duty of Muhammadans in British India towards the ruling power, and this "*Fatwa*" had considerable effect in allaying the excitement. His son the Moulānā Abdul Awal still comes periodically into these parts where crowds flock to hear him and where he makes much profit, some of which is devoted to the establishment of *Maktabas* and *Madrāssas* (Schools of Arabic and Persian). The Moulānās have been looked up to with superstitious awe by their disciples. Many miracles of healing are said to have been worked with pots of water and handfulls of black cummin upon which the Moulānā Kerāmat Ali had breathed. The Moulānā himself was an honest man, but many of those who heard him and followed him saw a way to make money by trading on the superstition of the poorer people. To-day there are large numbers of persons with a smattering of Arabic in the districts to the east of the Meghna who are prepared to write a text on a plate with ink which is to be washed off and the water drunk by a sufferer from fever or some other complaint. Such is the credulity of the cultivators that some of these persons make large and regular incomes in such ways.

38. There can be no doubt that though to deal honestly with one's neighbour is not a precept which is often given or followed among them, their religion is a very real thing to the Muhammadans of Noakhali and Tippera. Prayers are most

The *Wahabis*.

Later reformers.

Character of the Muhammadans.

punctiliously said by all of them at the appointed times. They like nothing better than to hear the Korān read or listen to an abstruse disquisition on a religious subject. Maulavis and Hafez are very numerous, and it is every one's ambition as he gets old to see Mecca before he dies. Yet all the Settlement staff complain of the same thing, that the people have less honesty and less regard for the truth than they have found elsewhere. One Muhammadan Assistant Settlement Officer says that though he had never seen it before in his experience, not once but several times in Noakhali he had instances in which two venerable Muhammadans in their own village before all their acquaintance swore the exact opposite on the Korān. At the same time it may be due to his religion that the Noakhali cultivator, contrary to the practice of the Bakarganj cultivator, his neighbour across the Meghna, very seldom resorts to violence. The same can generally be said of the Muhammadans in the southern part of Tippera, but does not hold good when the area between Matlab and Nabinagar is reached nor in the northern part of the district. The people of Brāhmanbāria are a particularly truculent race.

39. Among all classes there is a respect and desire for education.

Education.

The number of schools in the district approaches 2,500. The majority of these are of course lower primary schools, but in a district dependent entirely on agriculture it is lower primary schools that are most needed. Primary education among the masses has advanced considerably, although not so far in Tippera as in Noakhali, and there is great enthusiasm for it. The tendency has often been to make those who have had it consider themselves above cultivating the soil, but there are signs that it is now beginning to be too widespread for that. There are drones in every village who try to live at the expense of their neighbours and relatives upon what they can make by using to advantage their smattering of education, but in another generation or two almost every one will have learnt something and the opportunities of these parasites will be much less. Another generation or two will, it is hoped, make much more uncommon that very unpleasing object, the man who looks down upon his own father and considers himself, because he can just read and write, above leading the life his father led before him and devoting himself to agriculture, the only work he is fit to do. Secondary education also progresses and English schools multiply but the movement does not arouse the same sympathy in an outsider as the spread of primary education does, for the mainstay of the district must always be agriculture, and the people are not really fitted for anything else.

40. To an European the number of shops, which are to be seen doing business continually, appears very small indeed.

Hats.

The *bazars* at Comilla, Chāndpur and Brāhmanbāria are small ones. There are permanent shops at other places, such as Hajiganj, Chitosi, Manoharganj, Daulatganj, Elliotganj, Matlab, Gauripur, Ramchandrapur, Nabinagar, Fandank and Jafarganj, but they are few and very small. Except in cotton cloth, salt and kerosine oil there is very little retail distribution trade, for the cultivating classes themselves produce almost all that they require and such traffic in the commodities which they exchange with one another as takes place, is carried on without the intervention of a middleman at the *hāt* which meets twice a week at each of the very numerous sites which have been set apart for the purpose all over the district. At the *hāt* the middleman buys up such products as jute, betelnuts and chillies which will be exported. The journeyman with cloth, salt, kerosine or glass bangles, etc., who may have a permanent shop at the place or may have come from his shop at another market-place to attend this *hāt* for the day, does the bulk of his trade. The cultivators buy and sell to one another rice, pulses and vegetables of which one may happen to have a surplus in his house and another may have run short. Besides monopolizing most of the trade which is done, the *hāt* is a social institution. Owing to the strict adherence of all classes to the *pardah*-system, a villager does not visit his neighbours in their houses unless he is closely related to them except on such an occasion as marriage feast. The homesteads are scattered over the whole face of the country-side. There is no village street up which

he can pass and expect to meet his acquaintances and hear the gossip of the neighbourhood. The *hât* supplies to the men the opportunity of social intercourse which they would not otherwise have. The women have no such opportunity. Within three or four miles walk from the home of any man in the district there will be found three or four or more *hâtkhola*, meeting places of *hâts*. They meet on different days of the week, Monday and Thursday one, Tuesday and Friday another, and so on, and a man can if he wishes attend one of them every day. The ordinary cultivator's land employs him only comparatively a few days in the year when he ploughs, sows and reaps his crops. While the crop is on the ground he has no more to do than look after his cattle which he generally leaves to the care of his children, grow his few vegetables and do petty repairs in his homestead. When there is nothing to be done in his fields he has his meal, as much rice as he can eat with a little curry to flavour it at 11 o'clock, a pipe or two and perhaps a short sleep, and sets out about 3 o'clock to visit one of the *hâts* not far away, to return two hours after sunset. Generally he takes something to sell. If he has no jute, chillies or betelnut to dispose of to a *bepari* (small dealer) he will take with him in his basket perhaps a fine pumpkin which he would like others to see or a duck or a couple of fowls. And he will certainly bring something back. He will meet his friends there, enquire the prices of every thing and hear all the local gossip. These are the things which interest him, which he does not hear if he stays at home. Enormous as is the amount of litigation that goes on, it is an altogether unwarranted exaggeration to say that it is the common man's recreation. It is the game which is played by those with a smattering of education and a *péchant* for the thing itself, touts and those unscrupulous persons who profit by it from their less astute neighbours. The *hât* is the common man's recreation. The business that is done is done loudly but very slowly. There is no need to hurry and it is a pleasure to enquire the price from several vendors and haggle over it as long as possible before completing a purchase.

41. The ordinary country-produce is bought and sold at every *hât*, cattle usually only at those which are recognized cattle markets and on one of the two days in the week on which those *hâts* meet. Such are Rājārgāon in Hājiganj *thana*, Elliotganj, Srighar in Nabinagar *thana*, Sarāil and Begamganj on the bank of the Gunti opposite Companyganj. Cattle are also purchased in numbers from Bābur Hât across the Meghna in *thana* Rupganj.

Jute is taken to another set of markets sometimes by the cultivators themselves, but more often by *beparis* who have sometimes bought the crop while it is still on the ground and pass it on to the agents of firms with which they are connected. Among the important jute marts are :—

Chāndpur.	Betakāndi.
Faridganj.	Bholāchang.
Hājiganj.	Krishnagar.
Matlāb Bāzār.	Nabinagar.
Dāudkāndi.	Brāhmanbāria.
Gauripur.	Asuganj (and Bhāirab on the other side of the river).
Companyganj.	Aurāil.
Pānchpukuria.	Chattalparā.
Rāmchāndrapur.	Nasirnagar.
Homnā.	Akhaura.
Bānchārampur.	
Sonārāmpur.	

Chandura does a considerable trade in hides, Hājiganj and Chāndpur in betelnut, the *hâts* in Char Hāim and Char Bhairagi in chillies, and Rāmdia Hât in Nabinagur *thana* in hemp.

CHAPTER II.

The employment of the land and agriculture.

42. In Appendix A to this report will be found statistics showing the manner of employment of the land of each *thana*. They are the totals *thana* by *thana* of statistics prepared village by village for the whole area dealt with in the District Settlement Operations and those surveyed by the Settlement Officers of Dacca and Faridpur in connection with their *Diara* Surveys of banks of the Meghna. These village statistics are to be found in registers which have been bound and handed over to the Collector. Similar registers were prepared for the rest of the district by the Settlement Officer of Chakla Roshnābād, but in the appendix to this Report the figures of his statistics have not been amalgamated with the new statistics to give totals for each *thana* which contains part of the Roshnābād estate, partly because the Roshnābād figures are now 25 years old and conditions have somewhat changed during that time, and partly because their arrangement and the forms used were not quite the same as the present ones. Similar volumes containing crop statistics village by village have been made over to the Collector. The statistics contained in Appendix B are the analysis of these registers *thana* by *thana*.

The employment of the land.

43. The following table shows *thana* by *thana* the proportion of the total area which is cultivated, culturable but uncultivated, and unculturable.

<i>Thana</i> name.					Total area in sq. miles.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA.		
						Cultivated.	Culturable.	Unculturable.
Chāndpur	...	...	...	...	226	79·3	1·2	19·5
Hājiganj	...	...	...	...	224	82·1	1·3	16·5
Mutlab Bazar	...	...	...	...	148	82·5	1·8	15·7
Dāudkāndi	...	...	...	...	228	83·6	1·1	15·3
Nabinagar*	...	...	...	...	180	83·3	2·0	14·5
Brāhmanbāria*	...	...	...	...	333	78·0	3·7	18·3
Kasba*	...	...	...	...	42	83·3	2·2	14·3
Murādnagar	...	...	...	...	224	83·1	2·2	14·2
Comilla*	...	...	...	...	68	72·7	4·0	23·2
Chāndina	...	...	...	...	171	48·2	2·3	13·5
Chauddagrām*	...	...	...	...	60	84·4	2·5	13·1
Lāksam*	...	...	...	...	188	84·0	2·8	13·3
Chakla Roshnabad	...	...	...	...	429	72·1	7·8	20·8
Total					2,523	80·1	3·0	16·1

* Area covered by Chakla Roshnabad excluded.

44. The area culturable but not cultivated is everywhere small. In the south-west of the district it is lowest, a little over one per cent. of the total area. In the central high portion and in Nabinagar it is but little more and even in Brāhmanbāria only than 3·7 per cent. The figures given for Comilla are not typical of the whole *thana* for the Māinamāti Hills form much of the 68 square miles which came within the District Settlement Operations. The area, 7·8 per cent. of the whole, found cultivable but unculturable in Chakla Roshnabad at the time of Mr. Cumming's settlement, represented land on the edge of the Tippera Hills, raised a little above the level of the plains, almost level, but not capable of bearing so heavy a crop as the rest. From what I have seen and heard it seems likely that a fresh enquiry would prove that much of this is now regularly cultivated. The land which has been shown in the present statistics as culturable but

uncultivated is not all left in a state in which it brings no profit to its owners. The following table shows *thana* by *thana* the use to which such land is put :—

Thana name.	Total culturable area in sq. miles.	PERCENTAGE OF CULTURABLE AREA.				
		Old fallow.	New fallow.	Bamboos.	Thatching grass.	Miscellaneous.
Chāndpur ...	3	9·9	8·5	9·8	66·5	5·3
Hājiganj ...	3	16·9	11·2	16·7	48·1	7·0
Matla Bāzār ...	3	16·7	11·7	11·1	39·1	21·5
Dāudkandi ...	2½	16·0	6·3	15·6	28·2	33·7
Nabinagar ...	4	13·4	7·4	23·7	15·1	40·2
Brāhmanbāria ...	12	37·0	12·9	18·8	6·1	25·2
Kasba ...	½	15·0	5·0	38·0	6·8	35·2
Murādnagar ...	5	12·3	6·0	46·0	12·8	22·8
Comilla ...	3	6·1	27·1	20·3	19·2	27·2
Chāndina ...	4	9·4	5·3	30·3	42·0	13·0
Chaudhagrām ...	1	4·5	7·7	34·3	26·5	37·0
Lāksām ...	5	6·1	3·1	28·7	40·8	26·6
Chakla Roshnābād ...	34	43·3	9·0	46·2	2·0	7·4
Total ...	80	28·6	6·0	32·9	15·9	16·6

Thatching grass originally appeared spontaneously in the plots now yielding it, but it is very valuable and does not go by any means uncared for. With the increased use of corrugated iron for building purposes its value decreased, but the war having put an end for the time being to the import of corrugated iron and been responsible for an enormous increase in the price of stocks held in the country, thatching grass came into great demand again. Many a man must have repented a patch of thatching grass which he had ploughed up and converted into arable land. Thatching grass cannot be grown on any land. It must be high and well drained and the soil must be light. Nor can it be made to grow at a short notice. Only the same plot which has had nothing else on it for years will give a good yield. It is grown more in the south-west and centre of the district, than towards the north and east. The reason is not so much that there is not in the north and east high land enough to spare for it, as that thatching grass and the tall *hugla*, which is used as a substitute for it and does equally well, can be brought down cheaply from the Tippera Hills where it grows in abundance. Great quantities of thatching grass and *hugla* are brought by boat or raft down the Gumti and other hill-streams and Tipperas bring bundles of *hugla* regularly to such markets as Bibir Bāzār and Kanistala to be brought on into Comilla. Thatching grass might well be called a crop and the same may be said of bamboos. Their growth is not usually spontaneous. A clump of bamboos will continue to produce for an indefinite period, but it is not difficult to establish a new clump by transplanting a crown from an old one, and cultivators commonly do this. Small bamboos are cut in the Tippera hills and floated down in rafts consisting of many thousands every year at the end of the rains. Those who have brought them live in huts built upon them, anchor their rafts near a market and remain until they are all sold. Large bamboos do not come down from the hills in the same quantities. They are grown by the cultivators of the plains in the clumps around their homestead and form a very valuable asset to them. The old fallow is most in Brāhmanbāria. It is the grazing land which is sufficient in the lowlying area in that *thana* as it is not anywhere else in the district. New fallow also appeared more in Brāhmanbāria than elsewhere. There the increase of population is almost at a standstill and after the ill-fortune of losing part of their crops in the floods two years in succession (the statistics for Brāhmanbāria are those of the season 1916-17), some cultivators did not feel it worth while to sow winter rice on land only just high enough to give it a chance to be a successful. The percentage of the area culturable but uncultivated shown as "Miscellaneous" in the last table refers to such land as the banks of tanks, etc. In the south-western part of the district these are usually planted with betelnut and other trees and have been classes as "*bāgōn*" (garden). It also refers

to land occupied with straw stacks, threshing floors and the like, deserted homesteads, etc.

45. The following table shows *thana* by *thana* the use to which the unculturable area is put :—

Thana NAME.	Total unculturable area in square miles.	Homesteads.	Percentage of unculturable area.				
			Tanks.	Streams.	Unculturable waste.	Roads.	Miscellaneous.
Chāndpur ...	44	32.2	41.6	12.4	5.2	6.7	1.0
Hājiganj ...	37	27.7	36.5	9.7	8.8	16.1	1.0
Latlabazar ...	23	32.1	25.1	27.5	8.2	5.0	2.0
Daudkandi ...	38	33.2	11.8	34.1	10.2	7.5	3.0
Nabinagar ...	26	30.8	11.1	31.4	13.5	10.8	3.1
Brāhmanbāria ...	61	19.8	10.9	20.5	22.8	23.6	2.2
Kusba ...	6	29.3	29.6	15.5	10.2	13.5	1.8
Muradinagar ...	32	31.1	28.5	16.6	3.4	16.2	1.1
Comilla ...	16	17.7	15.4	4.6	47.3	13.0	1.7
Chandina ...	23	30.2	34.5	8.9	6.4	18.3	1.5
Chauddagran ...	8	22.0	28.1	15.1	19.1	13.1	2.2
Lākshām ...	25	27.9	35.1	11.5	7.1	16.7	1.8
Chakla Roshnābād ...	86	14.6	18.1	17.1	11.7	10.0	27.7
Total ...	425	25.3	23.5	18.2	12.7	13.2	7.1

On the mainland of Noakhali it was found that tanks occupied a larger area than homesteads, *i.e.*, the site of the dwelling-houses and courtyards. This condition is repeated throughout Chakla Roshnābād, the centre and the south of the district. It is only in the north and along the Meghna to the west that that it is not the case. There are more frequently streams which can be used as sources of water-supply. Highland suitable for homestead sites is much less and the tenants are less inclined to leave room for each homestead to have its own tank than in the south. The total area covered by tanks in the district, no less than 100 square miles, is altogether abnormal even for Bengal. Wells are only to be found in one part, in the vicinity of Syāmgram. The water of the Titās, the Meghna and its branches, and the Dākāitiā is used for drinking purposes, but elsewhere tanks form the only source of supply of water whether for drinking or other purposes. It is not usual to find that drinking water is obtained from sources not used for other purposes. With social customs as they are at present the inconvenience of such an arrangement is likely to preclude its introduction for many years to come. The women of the household take water from the tank within the homestead to which they can usually go without being seen from outside. They and the rest of the family bathe in the same tank and often wash their cattle in it. None is prepared to go any distance to bring good drinking-water from a tank further afield. The obstacles in the way of advance in this matter are the strict adherence to the "*pardah*-system" which has certainly not diminished in recent years and the apparent absence of a sense of public duty in high or low. No one seeing another abusing a tank nominally reserved would think it his business to interfere even with a word unless the tanks were his own private property. Comilla, Brāhmanbāria and Chāndpur are the only places where there is any effective reservation of the water-supply for drinking purposes. The advantage of it is appreciated to some extent in the towns but the lesson has not begun to be learnt outside. In the centre and south of the district there are many more tanks than are necessary, as is shown by the frequency with which tanks are to be found half silted up, full of weeds and containing water unfit for use. In some of these the matted covering of weeds is so dense that it will bear the weight of a man crossing it. Better water is to be got by excavation of a new tank than by cleaning out an old one. The old tank is useless except sometimes to supply grass to be cut as fodder for cattle, and an appreciable area which might have been put to use has gone to waste.

Before drawing conclusion from the figures for the area covered by streams it is to be remembered that rivers more than three chains in width

were not included within the area of the villages and do not therefore appear in these statistics. The area shown as unculturable waste consists, in the centre and south of the district, mainly of the ditches and holes round the homestead from which earth was cut to raise the site. Roughly these may be taken to be a fifth of the homestead area. As the above table will show they account for practically all the waste land in Chāndpur, Hājiganj, Matlab, Chandina, Muradnagar and Lāksām *thanas*. The excess elsewhere is accounted for in diverse ways. In Brāhmanbāria it is the *bil* area, so also in Nabinagar and Daudkandi. In the area which was surveyed in Comilla *thana* where, as has already been mentioned, the Māināmati Hills make up a considerable percentage of the total, it is the barren slopes and mounds which have remained untilled. The Roshnābād figures are twenty years old. Much of the unculturable waste on the eastern edge has, in all probability, now been brought under the plough. In the area of Chaudhagrām not within Chakla Roshnābād the unculturable waste area has been increased by the Sāthāria *bil* area and by the swamps left in the bends of the Little Feni river. The area classed as "road" includes paths of all sorts besides the roads maintained by the District and Local Boards. The area is largest in Brāhmanbāria *thana*. At first sight this may appear anomalous for Brāhmanbāria is as badly served by useful roads as any part of the district. But it is there only that wide *hālats* (cattle tracks) have survived. Elsewhere they have been so encroached upon by the cultivators whose lands lie on either side that little more than a footpath is left. Even in Brāhmanbāria many have been pared down. There were formerly very wide *hālats* leading to the *bils* used for grazing in the dry weather. Leading north across the *bils* to Nāsir-nagar the *thāk* maps show a track in places a hundred yards in width which has now almost been obliterated. The area shown under the head "miscellaneous" included grave-yards, burning *ghāts* and the like in the area dealt with in the District Settlement Operations.

46. The proportions of the total area of the district cultivated, culturable and unculturable, stand compared with those of other districts as follows :—

PROPORTION OF TOTAL AREA.					
		Culti- vated.	Cultur- able.	Uncultur- able.	
Tippera ...	...	80·1	3·0	16·1	7½ per cent. of the whole area of the district, unoccupied area in the Sundarbans, is omitted from this analysis.
Noakhali mainland ...	...	77·0	3·0	20·0	
Noakhali islands ...	...	58·0	16	26	
Bakarganj ...	...	70	12	18	
Faridpur ...	...	80	8	12	
Rajshahi ...	...	75	12	13	

Except in the undeveloped parts of Bengal the land which is culturable, but uncultivated is usually high land especially that of which the soil is inclined to be porous. When it is not required for a homestead and does not get and retain enough water to ensure a satisfactory rice crop it is not considered worth cultivating. In Tippera and on the Noakhali mainland, with their heavy rainfall coming early and late, there is little area that will not produce a crop which will well repay the expense and labour of its cultivation. That the unculturable area in Tippera and Noakhali is greater than in other districts for which a record-of-rights has been prepared is due to the existence of so many tanks. Whereas the tanks in Faridpur occupy only rather more than one-sixth as much as homesteads, in Tippera they occupy almost as much and in Noakhali considerably more than the homestead area.

47. At the time of Revenue Survey, 1860-64, Tippera included Chhagal-nāiā *thana* of Noakhali; the rest of the Noakhali border had not been rectified and followed an irregular boundary determined by the *parganās* in which the villages lay. The divergence from the present boundary was

Employment of the land half a century ago.

however comparatively little. On the north-west of Brāhmanbāria it did not exactly follow the Meghna, but only a few square miles have been affected by taking the Meghna as the boundary between Tippera from Mymensingh. A block west of Daudkandi police-station was in 1912 transferred to Tippera but there have been no other changes. Excluding *thana* Chhagalnāiā the Revenue Surveyor's statistics show that 74·6 per cent. of the total area was "cultivated or fit for cultivation."

The remainder was classed as—

Roads	...	...	...	...	·3 per cent.
Jheels	...	...	...	...	3·6 "
Hills	...	...	...	...	·8 "
Rivers and tanks	...	...	...	...	5·1 "
Homestead sites	...	...	...	...	9·1 "

According to the present figures roads are 2·1 per cent. The area of main roads which alone were separated by the Revenue Surveyors has probably doubled. The rest of the present road area is unembanked *halats* and paths which the Revenue Surveyors, who were not making a field-to-field survey, would have shown as culturable when they passed through open land and as homestead site when they passed through *bastis*. About 2 per cent. for these paths, etc., is therefore to be added to what has now been classed as cultivated, 80·1 per cent., and old and new fallow and thatching grass 1·5 per cent., before comparing with the Revenue Surveyors "area cultivated or fit for cultivation." There has to be subtracted almost all the area of "orchards and gardens" for this the Revenue Surveyors included within the homestead sites. Orchards and gardens are 5·1 per cent. Since the revenue survey therefore the area "cultivated or fit for cultivation" has increased no more than from 74·6 per cent. to about 78·5 per cent. Some of the cultivated area of 1861-64 is now occupied by new homesteads which have sprung up, new tanks and new orchards. The increased area that has been rendered fit for cultivation during the interval has come in the main from the 6·3 per cent. which was then jungle. Most of the jungle area was situated in the south-western part of the district. In the Revenue Survey Main Circuit No. 11, which included the whole of what is now Chāndpur *thana* with adjoining blocks from Matlab and Hājiganj, 265 square miles, only 45·8 per cent. was cultivated. 15·5 per cent. was homestead sites including the gardens and no less than 33·0 per cent. was jungle. On the other hand the block from a line east and west through Brāhmanbāria town down to the Comilla-Daudkāndi Trunk Road was more than 80 per cent. cultivated and fit for cultivation, and Main Circuit Nos. 8 and 9 covering the south-eastern part of the district were 77 per cent. in the same condition. Main Circuit No. 1 which included the block north of Brāhmanbāria had 3·5 per cent. of jungle and 12 per cent. "jheel." The statistics of the District Settlement show not more than about 3 per cent. of this area as *bil*, but this is not to be taken as evidence that the level of the Brahmanbaria *bils* is rising, for in the settlement record all the patches in the *bils* which grow *boro*-paddy have been entered as cultivated land. These were not separated by the Revenue Surveyors. Nothing has now been recorded as *bil* except that actually covered by perennial water. Comparison between the present detailed maps and those of the Sarāil Settlement which is nearly 30 years old show only very slight changes in the Brāhmanbāria *bils*. There has in all probability not been much change since the Revenue Survey. A remarkable change has taken place only in the south-west of the district. The spread of cultivation there is reflected in the census figures and is very remarkable indeed.

48. In the correspondence of the early Collectors of Tippera there are

Employment of the land at earlier times.

frequent references to *khodkast* and *paikast raiyats*. *Raiyats* were *khodkast* when they cultivated lands in their own village, *paikast* when they went further afield and cultivated land of other villages. Their rights as *khodkast* and *paikast*, although in the early days very ill-defined, were different, as were their treatment of the land and their relations with the landlords. There are references to complaints that the realization of the rent of *paikast*

*raiya*ts was a matter of great difficulty. It is stated that *raiya*ts were easily able to get land elsewhere if their landlords oppressed them in any way, and frequently deserted their clearings after taking crops from them for a few years. The Tipperas in their own hills still prefer to live by *jhum* cultivation, burning a patch of jungle, growing crops for two years without any regular ploughing, and, having thus exhausted the poor hill soil, moving on elsewhere. As so much of Tippera district had formerly been in the hands of the Rāja it is likely that there were many Tipperas in the plains. It has already been mentioned that there were many in the south-western part of the district until quite recently and it is only within the last ten years or so that Bengalis have begun cultivating the parts of the Māināmati Hills most suitable for their purpose. Before that they were the preserve of the Tipperas. Even at the time of the Revenue Survey the *raiya*ts of the district had not altogether settled down to the cultivation of the same holdings from father to son continuously. In Mr. Browne's report he said :—

"The cultivators of this district except perhaps a few of those residing in the eastern portion cannot be said to have been in possession of any right at all before the passing of Act X of 1859. It was their practice for many years after the beginning of the present century to be constantly on the move or to change their place of residence from time to time as appeared to them most convenient. One of the ablest Tippera Collectors reports that the *raiya*ts are as migratory as swallows and usually change their place of abode at that time of the year when the heaviest instalments of rents fall due. Another Collector says that there are no *khodkast raiya*ts here." After a protracted residence in this district during which the nature of my duties have been such as to bring me in close contact with the agricultural classes, I have no hesitation whatever in fully endorsing the opinions quoted here."

Mr. Browne exaggerated. Many Collectors in their letters from earliest times made mention of *khodkast raiya*ts. The Collector who said "there are no *khodkast raiya*ts here" was not referring to the whole district when he wrote. There certainly were, however, many who were in the habit of moving from place to place, but the characteristic of the Bengali cultivator in contrast with the cultivators of the hill tribes to the east as well as to the west of Bengal, his affection for his home and his father's land, is certainly not the growth of only half a century.

There is no doubt that there was land to spare in the earlier part of last century and before, but there is little reliable evidence how much it was. David Paterson who made a survey of Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal *parganas* in 1787-89 left figures from which some insight on this point is obtained. In the "*khās*" of Baradākhāt, the villages in which there were no middlemen, he found 15,525 families in possession of 12,742 *drons* of cultivated land and homestead. The rent-roll of the *khās* amounted to Rs. 1,68,925. The rents of the *tālukdārs* amounted to Rs. 12,792. The area of Baradākhāt was then just over 300 square miles and the area of the "*khās*" probably 270 square miles. The Baradākhāt "*kāni*" was then as now just under one-third of an acre. 12,742 *drons* is therefore equivalent to about 130 square miles, and almost 50 per cent. therefore of the land was occupied in Baradākhāt at that time. In the "*khās*" of Gangāmandal 1,410 families occupied 1,051 *drons*. The rent-roll for the "*khās*" amounted to Rs. 37,409 and for the *tāluku*s to Rs. 30,838. Paterson did not deal with quite all of Gangāmandal, but with very nearly all the 154 square miles now in Tippera. The area of the "*khās*" was probably about 75 square miles. The Gangāmandal *kāni* employed in the "*khās*" was just under an acre. 1,051 *drons* is therefore about 31 square miles, and the occupied area in Gangāmandal about 40 per cent. a somewhat lower proportion than in Baradākhāt. It has elsewhere been mentioned that Baradākhāt and Chakla Rosnābād were the most prosperous and most thickly populated *parganas* in the district. For the whole of it it is probable that the occupied area was something like 40 per cent. at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

49. The south-western part of the district where so large an area was jungle at the time of the Revenue Survey, was not lightly assessed at the Decennial Settlement. Evil times for it came during the first part of the 19th century. It is known that the prosperity of those parts depended then

The south-western part of the district in early days.

much as it does now on the produce of the betelnut trees, and that the rents of the tenants were determined by the number of trees standing on their land. Local tradition has it that an epidemic disease attacked the trees. Such epidemics have occurred elsewhere. In 1894 a disease in which the trees withered at the top and died in a fortnight broke out in Bakarganj *thana* in the district of that name and spread with great rapidity from garden to garden. Whatever may have been the cause, cultivation in the south-west of Tippera seems to have received a considerable set about a century ago. Out of 1,818 estates in the south-western *parganas* with a revenue of Rs. 2,52,968, 573 with a revenue of Rs. 88,833 had passed into Government's hands at sales for arrears of revenue by June 1835 when T. Bruce, the same Deputy Collector who worked in the Noakhali *Khās Mahāls*, was specially deputed to enquire into the reason for what had happened and to frame rent-rolls for the purchased estates. He wrote "at the Decennial Settlement the country must have been one of the most populous in the world, but as it is now directly the reverse, the uninhabited greatly predominates over the inhabited"..... "The state of the country is indeed deplorable. It is out of the power of the remaining inhabitants to cultivate it if they would. The roads are covered with jungle and almost impassable, and the village watchman differs in little but his name from his fellow cultivators for he pretends not to do his duty in a country so infested by wild beasts as to render it often unsafe to go about during the day." Bruce did not put this state of the country down to an epidemic among the betelnut trees, but rather to over assessment and to the rapacity of the *zamindārs* who realised rent at such high rates that the *rai-yats* left their homes and went elsewhere. His recommendations were to refuse to allow the old *zamindārs* or any connected with them to take farming leases in the *khās mahāls*, and to stop the assessment of rent upon the number of betelnut trees. Some of the farmers put in however continued this mode of assessment which remained to be condemned again by Mr. Browne at the time of the Revenue Survey. Even to-day most of the holdings in the old land about Chāndpur are at lump rentals which originated in this mode of assessment. They are now some of the lowest rentals in the district, for the present prosperity of the area is very recent, and the Rent Laws do not provide for enhancement on a scale commensurate with its increase.

Agriculture.

50. To say that the variations in the customary manner of agriculture from one locality to another depend largely upon Influence of rainfall, differences in the rainfall, is merely to repeat what is obvious. Tippera has a high rainfall. The air is only dry in the months of December, January and February and in those months the humidity is greater than in other parts of Northern India at the same season. After the middle of March three or four dry hot days alternate with damp days following violent storms which have brought down the temperature. After May the humidity remains high until the cold season comes round again in December. It can hardly be said to come earlier, for October may be hottest and most trying month of the year and the temperature by day falls very little in November. The monthly and annual average for the rainfall at the eight stations in the district where it is measured is as follows :—

January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
0'40	0'91	2'63	5'93	10'33	15'08	13'50	14'04	10'03	4'79	0'99	0'30	78'33

It is the distribution of rainfall over the year which combined with the annual flood permits the growth of crops in all the three seasons, winter, summer and spring. Variations in its distribution over the months of the rainy season June to August are not of importance for the flood comes and does its work in any case. It is the rain which comes in March, April and May and again September and October which determines the possibility of obtaining both a

summer and a winter crop off the same land, and settles the proportion of the one to the other. A little rain in February makes a good crop of *khesāri* and other *rabi* (spring) crops, but these are of minor importance compared with jute and *āus* and *āman* paddy. The cultivator waits for rain in March and April before he get ready his fields for *āus* and jute, and the more frequently rain falls after they are sown the better for the crop. The success of the winter crop transplanted on the same land as that from which *āus* or jute have been taken depends on the rain of September and October, and, whether the *āman* has been transplanted or sown broadcast, rain is very welcome to freshen it at intervals as the flood goes down. In the matter of rainfall Tippera is not as well off as Noakhali, but is better off than most other districts of the Province. The following figures show the rainfall in Tippera in the five critical months—March, April, May, September and October—compared with that in Noakhali, in Faridpur district which are near at hand, and in Rajshahi, to take a district in the middle of Bengal :—

Inches of rain in—

	March.	April.	May.	September.	October.
Tippera	2.63	5.93	10.33	10.03	4.79
Noakhali	2.98	5.01	11.07	16.46	7.60
Faridpur	2.21	4.13	8.31	8.75	4.28
Rajshahi	0.97	1.63	5.74	9.98	3.54

The influence of variations of rainfall show themselves very plainly in the following table :—

Percentage of cultivated area (excluding orchards found to bear.)

	Summer crops.	Winter crops.	Spring crops.	Miscellaneous.	Total of these percentages.
Tippera	44	74	18	1	138
Noakhali (mainland only)	45	90	14	1	150
Faridpur	36	72	24	1	133
Rajshahi	64	29	14	1	108

The Rajshahi cultivator fails altogether to get a summer and a winter crop off the same land. The Noakhali cultivators on the other hand is able to grow summer crops on 45 per cent. of the cultivated area and still get his winter rice crop from 90 per cent. of it. The position of the Tippera and the Faridpur cultivators is intermediate, but the early and the late rain is more plentiful in Tippera than in Faridpur, and the Tippera cultivator does the better of the two. Nine per cent. more of the cultivated area in Tippera bears summer crops than in Faridpur and winter rice covers 2 per cent. more. The Faridpur cultivator tries to compensate himself by putting a larger area under spring crops, but it is a poor recompense, for the value of the average spring crop on an acre of land in Faridpur is little more than half that of an acre of rice in Tippera and a much smaller fraction of the value of an acre of jute.

51. Rainfall in Noakhali district, where the average is 113.65 inches annually, is higher on the seaface than inland and higher to the east against the hills than on the west. These variations are continued across the border into Tippera. Decreasing as the distance from the sea increases the annual fall is considerably more under the hills to the east than on the banks of the Meghna to the west. It is 89.04 inches at Comilla and no more than 67.04 at Dāudkāndi on the same parallel of latitude. Further north the district appears to come within the influence of the climatic conditions which produce so high a rainfall in Sylhet and Cachar. The annual average rises from 67.04 at Dāudkāndi and 72.61 at Rāmchandrapur to 78.46 at Brāhmanbāria and 79.72 at Nāsirnagar.

The following table showing in each *thana* the proportion of cultivated land under summer, winter and spring crops is interesting :—

Serial No.	Name of thana.	Total cultivated area in square miles.	PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED AREA EXCLUDING ORCHARD FOUND TO BEAR—				
			Summer crops.	Winter crops.	Spring crops.	Miscellaneous crops.	Total of these percentages.
1	Chāndpur	141	46·2	64·2	27·6	·2	138·2
2	Hājiganj	168	25·8	35·7	5·1	·5	117·1
3	Matlabbāzar	114	54·6	47·4	24·4	1·2	127·6
4	Dāudkāndi	199	53·5	44·8	30·1	2·3	130·7
5	Nabinagar ^o	145	52·4	53·8	36·5	3·6	146·3
6	Brāhmanbāria ^o	256	35·7	70·2	21·0	1·3	128·2
7	Kasba ^o	34	35·7	81·0	22·3	·6	139·6
8	Murādnagar	180½	49·7	87·1	23·1	·8	160·7
9	Comilla ^o	47	73·2	83·3	15·8	·5	172·8
10	Chandina	134	62·6	93·1	8·8	·3	164·8
11	Chanddagrām ^o	49	56·2	89·4	10·3	·8	156·7
12	Lāksām ^o	149½	39·3	94·6	5·4	·2	139·5
13	Chakla Roshnābād	3·6	39·2	80·2	7·4	·1	126·9
	Total	1,923	45·3	73·7	18·1	1·0	138·1

The total of the percentages in the last columns closely follows in its variations the total rainfall in the critical months. In comparing the statistics of whole districts its variations appear to follow with slavish exactness, but when on a nearer view different parts of the same district are compared, the effect of differences of level and differences in the nature of the soil are more apparent. The low level of a large part of Brāhmanbāria Subdivision, where summer crops cannot be grown at all, does not allow that part to make use of the advantage which it has over Dāudkāndi, and Nabinagar in the matter of rainfall. Hājiganj and the southern part of Lāksām also contain a large area where summer crops cannot grow and the land is devoted to winter rice only. The remarkably high proportion in the centre and south-east of the district in which winter rice is grown, is explained partly by the fact that in those parts the late rain is more plentiful than elsewhere, enabling *āman* to be transplanted later, and partly by the fact that those parts grow very little jute. Jute is a far more profitable crop than rice. Even when it might possibly be better to leave it a little longer on the ground a cultivator will take up his *āus* crop to make room for winter rice, but he would not treat jute in the same manner. As soon as the *āus* crop is cut he will set to work at once to prepare the land and transplant winter rice, but when jute is cut his labours with it have by no means finished. What he cut first has steeped long enough before the cutting is finished and it cannot be left while he prepares the land for the winter crops. A few days too long in the water will ruin it, and the process of stripping and drying it keeps him and all his family busy for some time longer before the transplantation of *āman* can be thought of. In practice, therefore, the extent of the *āman* crop suffers considerably for the sake of the jute crop as the figures of the last table for Matlab, Dāudkāndi and Nabinagar, the areas where most jute is grown, very clearly show. Where *āus* is the summer crop, as in Chandina, for example, the *āman* crop is not sacrificed at all for its sake. The percentage of the cropped area excluding garden, which is covered by jute in Matlab is 45·3, in Dāudkāndi 45·1 and in Nabinagar 38·4. In Chāndina it is only 5·3. In Chāndpur it is 31·0. There *āman* is sacrificed to some extent for jute, and to some extent also for the sake of the betelnut harvest. Conditions vary very much between the north and south of Murādnagar. Over the whole, the percentage of jute is 25·5 per cent. but conditions in parts of the north of the approximate to those of Brāhmanbāria, while in the south as in Chāndina the summer crop is *āus*, which is not allowed to interfere with the *āman* crop. The spring crops must have a light soil. Not only do they do best in the parts nearer to the Meghna, but in those parts there is less *āman* rice, and

^o Area covered by Chakla Roshnābād is not included.

time for them to come to perfection fits in well before jute has to be sown again.

The figures for Chakla Roshnābād taken from the statistics prepared at the time of Mr. Cumming's settlement have been added to the table found in this paragraph, but they are inclined to be misleading when compared with these in the rest of the table for two reasons. The crops were recorded at the *khānapuri* stage early in the year and the record of them received no check such as that made at the *bujhārat* stage in the District Settlement Operations. *Bujhārat* takes place later in the season when the summer crop is on the ground. It is very likely, therefore, that *āus* was not entered in Chakla Roshnābād against many plots where it was sown later in the year. Such experience of Chakla Roshnābād as is obtained, passing through the length of it between Comilla and the Noakhali border as I did several times at each season in going as was my habit from Comilla to Noakhali by the Trunk Road, has led me to conclude that *āman* follows *āus* as frequently in those parts as in Chandina *thana*, and in the parts of Comilla and Chaudda-grām *thanas* which were surveyed in the District Settlement Operations. The Roshnābād statistics, from the manner of their making, certainly erred rather in the direction of under-estimating than over-estimating the summer crop and cultivation has certainly become more intensive in the last twenty years. The percentages for Chakla Roshnābād in the above table must, therefore, be modified before they can be taken to represent present conditions. Figures to do this are not I estimate lower than 55 to 60 per cent. for the summer crop and 85 per cent. for the winter crop.

The crops of the district.

52. The crops grown in the district are shown in the following statement :—

Names of crops.	Area of crops in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.	Names of crops.	Area of crops in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area.
<i>Cereals and pulses.</i>			<i>Fibres.</i>		
<i>Aus</i> rice	308,673	17·4	Hemp	677	...
<i>Aman</i> „	905,244	51·1	Jute	248,361	14·0
<i>Boro</i> „	21,519	1·2	Others	100	...
Wheat	72	...			
Barley	189	...	<i>Drugs and Narcotics.</i>		
<i>Lathyrus Sativus (khesari)</i>	59,659	3·3	Tobacco	3,291	·2
<i>Eruvumilens (musuri)</i> ...	4,795	·2			
<i>Mung</i>	941	·1	<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
<i>Gram</i>	185	...	Fodder crops	5,740	·3
Other food-grains ...	53,558	3·0	Betel leaves	551	...
			Produce of orchards and gardens.	71,444	4·3
<i>Oilseeds.</i>			Food crops— { Potatoes ...	5,180	·3
Linseed	707	...	{ Others ...	977	·1
<i>Til</i> or Gingelly	7,930	·4	Non-food crops	15	...
Mustard and rape seeds ...	39,061	2·2			
Others	483	...	Grand Total	1,771,635	...
Condiments and spices ...	29,981	1·7	Twice cropped area ...	469,175	...
Sugarcane	2,302	·1			
			Net cropped area ...	1,302,460	...

Under cereals and pulses the other food-grains which occupy as much as 3·0 per cent. of the net cropped area are chiefly *māshkālāi* (which, like *khesari*, although not so frequently, may be a fodder crop only), and *matur* (country peas). The condiments and spices which cover 1·7 per cent. are nothing but chillies.

53. Rice is the main crop in the district. Winter rice covers 905,244 acres 51·1 per cent. of the net cropped area.

Various kinds of rice. Summer rice covers 308,673 acres 17·4 per cent. and there are 21,519 acres of lowland in which *boro* paddy is grown. *Boro* paddy is usually the only crop which can be grown in the lowland suitable for it. In the northern part of the district which is interspersed

with *bils* there is paddy growing on land of one level or another all the year round. *Boro* paddy is sown in its seedbeds, and transplantation begins before the cutting of the *āman* crop is finished. *Jali* the earliest kind of summer rice is sown as early as February before the *boro* is in ear and is followed by *sāita* and other kinds of quick growing *āus* by the time of the *boro* is ready to be reaped. *Aus* and *āman* are sometimes sown together and the broadcast *āman* is sown only a little after the *āus*, while before the *āus* is ready to cut seedbeds are prepared and the seedlings for the transplanted *āman* are well out of the ground.

Mr. Cumming in his Settlement Report for Chakla Roshnābād enumerated 172 different kinds of rice which he found to be grown in the estate. This enumeration includes almost all the kinds grown in other parts of the district except certain varieties which are grown on the sandy Meghna *chars*. The statement of Abu Fazl Allami, the writer of the *Ain-I-Akbari*, that "if a single grain of each kind of rice were collected they would fill a large vase" is a picturesque exaggeration, but not by any means such a wild exaggeration as it would appear at first sight to a stranger. The number of varieties in Tippera is said to be less than in certain other parts of Bengal, a possible reason for this being that there is in Tippera very little migration of labourers either in or out of the district or from one part of it to another for harvesting. Some varieties are known to all, but many seem indistinguishable except to the cultivator and it appears probable that the same variety having accommodated itself to varying conditions in different parts is differently called. Selection of paddy for seed the cultivator makes his own business. He does it with very little care or discrimination. His plan is usually to keep some of the paddy of a field to sow in the same field another year. Dealers in paddy mix various kinds together, and in times when the cultivator has been able to keep none of his crop for seed he is at great difficulty to buy it. The movement of the Agricultural Department in setting up seed stores is likely to prove valuable. The difficulty is that the cultivators cannot clearly describe exactly what they want, nor exactly the level or kind of the land for which they want it. The man in charge of the seed store will moreover not be a man of the agricultural classes but a *bhadralok* whose knowledge, however sound, will only be book knowledge, unassisted by the instinct which plays so important a part in agriculture that has gone on for centuries on exactly the same lines. In 1916 after the floods of the year before, in which the cultivators in parts of Brāhmanbāria lost the whole of their crop, some of them brought seed from the neighbouring parts of Hill Tippera and elsewhere. They thought it was the same variety to which they had been used and sowed it on their lands. But it turned out that, though it was long-stemmed, it had not that power of shooting up to keep its head just above a fast rising flood that their own paddy had, and, though the flood was only normal, some of them lost their crop. If they had taken their seed from one of the Agricultural Departments' seed stores the result would have been the same. No paddy grown on the Dacca farm or for that matter anywhere in the Dacca district would prove suitable to the conditions along the banks of the Titās in Brāhmanbāria. None that can be grown on the site newly acquired for an experimental farm in Comilla would be any more suitable. Brāhmanbāria with its varied levels and peculiar flood conditions is a dangerous ground for agricultural experiments. The case is different, for instance, in the high central plane of the district. The experimental farm at Comilla will be able to produce paddy suitable for very nearly every field ordinarily growing transplanted *āman* for many miles round. .

51. *Aus* is never transplanted, for transplantation must be done in a few inches of water when the seedlings have reached a certain stage in their growth and this

Choice of what to sow.

is not to be counted on in April and May. Whether *āus* is to be grown at all, and whether *āman* is to be transplanted or sown broadcast, are mainly questions of the level of the land. It may be said that ordinarily transplantation is resorted to wherever the water in the fields at the time of transplantation is not likely to be more than about 9 inches. Where it is probable that there will be more, *āman* is sown broadcast before the fields go under water. The *āus* paddy grown is all short-stemmed. In land too

low for transplanting *āman* after *āus* is cut, if there is not likely to be more than two feet six inches or so of water in the fields at the end of July, *āus* may be grown. If it is, it will be sown along with the *āman* broadcast about the end of March. The *āus* will be cut at the end of July and the *āman* in December. Where there will be more water in July, only *āman* is sown and often only *āman* is sown when the two might be grown together. The Tippera cultivator transplants his winter rice wherever he can do so. It is a well established fact that when paddy is transplanted, not only is there a rather heavier crop than when it is sown broadcast, but the rice is of better quality. It does not need the investigations of the Agricultural Department nor their publicity which it attempts to give to the results of them to convince the Tippera cultivator of this. There is moreover another very important consideration which weighs with the Tippera cultivator and the cultivator in such other localities as Tippera where the favourable rainfall enables a winter crop of *āman* to be grown after the summer crop of *āus* or jute. While the seedlings are in the nursery they take up very little space and the fields can be occupied with another crop while they are growing. The ground is always wet at the time, and it takes only a few days after the crop has been removed to plough and make ready the fields for transplanting.

55. The numerous varieties of *āman* paddy are sharply divisable into long-stemmed and short-stemmed kinds. Short-stemmed varieties are grown where they can be transplanted. They grow to a length of three to four feet and the stem is strong enough to hold the plant erect till the ear is full. The long-stemmed varieties grow to a surprising length, fourteen or fifteen feet being common. The stem is thicker at its base than that of short-stemmed paddy, but only slightly so, and the plant is altogether unable to support itself in an erect position. The stem is moreover often slightly bent at each joint, and the plant is supported by floating in the water. In lowlying parts, especially those near the hills and subject to inundation by the sudden floods of the hill streams, the varieties have so adapted themselves to local conditions that they are able to shoot up very quickly in order to keep their heads above a rising flood. So long as the plants can keep an inch or two above water they continue to flourish. But if the whole goes under water growth stops and unless the flood goes down within a week or ten days the plant dies. Abu-Fazl-Allami wrote only a few sentences descriptive of Bengal generally. One of them has already been quoted. Another was a like hyperbole regarding rice: "as fast as the water rises the stalks grow so that the ear is never immersed inasmuch as those experienced in such matters have taken the measure of a single night's growth at sixty cubits."* It is sober fact that some varieties of long-stemmed paddy on a rising flood can grow a foot in twelve hours.

Areas in which *aman* is transplanted

56. It is the rule that winter rice is transplanted in the following areas and there are few exceptions to the rule:—

Comilla, Chaudhagrām, Chāndina *thanas*, the part of Muradnagar *thana* south of Gumti, the part of Daudkandi south of the Gumti, except the area of the Meghna *chars*, the old part of Matlab *thana* and all Lāksām *thana*, except the low belt which covers the south of it.

In Chāndpur and Hājiganj *thanas* the rule is that rice is transplanted but, more exceptions are to be found.

Elsewhere more *aman* is sown broadcast than transplanted, but, as for example, in the high strip from Pagarchang to Brāhmanbāria and on to Sarail, the area south of Bholachang and over a considerable part of Kasba, transplantation is found. As has already been said, whether *aman* is transplanted or broadcast is mainly a question of ground-level.

57. *Boro* paddy is grown in the land which will still be wet until February or can be kept wet by making up a little embankment to stop the water from draining off. Such land is too low to grow *āman* paddy. *Boro* grows in the *bils* in the

northern part of the district and is also grown on new *chars* in the strip on the west of the district subject to the action of the Meghna. There is also some of it grown in the patch of *bil* in the south of Chauddagrām and sometimes in the beds of old tanks in other parts, while it is common to find it transplanted close to the water's edge along *khāls* with gradually sloping banks. Transplantation begins in December at the edge of a *bil* and goes on gradually as the water-level falls until perhaps only a small patch of open water too deep for its transplantation remains by the end of January. Not all that is transplanted ripens and gives a full crop. What was first transplanted fails because the ground gets too dry. What was transplanted last has to be cut before it is ready or it would go under water from the early April rain. Where it fails to ripen it is very well worthwhile to have put it down for it forms good fodder for cattle at the time of the year when fodder is scarce. *Boro* is one of the hardiest and healthiest of crops, and a very heavy one, 30 or 35 maunds to the acre being in no way remarkable. The rice is, however, very coarse and is only eaten by the very poor.

58. The rice crop of Noakhali was found to have very few enemies.

Enemies of the rice crop ; floods.

Tippera is not by any means so well off. Although there are parts which share the immunity of Noakhali there are others where there is danger every year. Insufficient rain is not often the cause of trouble. A failure of the usual rainfall in March, April and May may delay the sowing and set back the growth of the summer crops *āus* and *jute*, and short rainfall in September and the early part of October may be detrimental to the winter rice, but the district, especially the northern part, is much more liable to damage from floods. Floods caused great damage during several seasons at the end of the 18th century and have recurred at intervals ever since, but it seems that during the last decade they have been more frequent and more violent than ever before. Sudden floods coming down from the eastern hills by way of the Gumti and smaller streams further north are liable to cause much destruction locally, but the disastrous floods which destroyed so much of the crop in Brāhmanbāria in 1914 and again to a less extent in 1918 have come down from Assam. Heavy rain in the Tippera hills has helped to raise their level and as has already been mentioned there is little doubt that the building of the Asuganj-Akhaura branch railway has increased the damage that they have been able to do in the low area due east from Brāhmanbāria town. There has been some speculation as to whether the clearing of jungle and especially the cutting down of big forest trees both in Hill Tippera and in Cachar has not been in part responsible for the apparently increased danger from floods of late years. The clearing of forests in other parts of the globe has been proved beyond doubt to have been responsible for the increased violence of floods, but in the present instance how much is due to this cause it is impossible to estimate. The Meghna is altogether unable to carry off the water fast enough. The flood has spilled over from its main channel long before it reaches Tippera and the inundation that caused destruction around Nasirnagar last summer seemed rather to come over land to Nasirnagar from the north and north-east than down the channel of the Meghna. It seemed to bring very little silt with it. The overspill from the Meghna into the Titās basin in normal years does not come with a steady current, for the long course of the Titās with but a slight fall makes a strong through current impossible and such silt as the waters bear when they leave the Meghna are immediately deposited. The Titās basin gets very little deposit from the floods to raise its level, and if the conjecture is correct that the existence of the *bil* area is due to subsidence, there is little or no hope for the amelioration of present conditions.

59. *Ufra* is a disease which attacks *āman* paddy and in parts of the district does great damage. Its ravages do not

Ufra.

seem to be on the increase except in certain localities. The cultivators dread it but are helpless to deal with it. Burning the straw on an affected field appears to do no good. The same field may lose its crop year after year while neighbouring fields remain unaffected. The remedy would seem to lie in some scheme for a rotation of crops so that an affected field would be devoted for the next year or two to *bhādai* (summer) and *rabi* (spring) crops only, but the cultivator is not easily to be turned from the

practice of centuries. Rotation of crops is foreign to all the economy of agriculture with which he is familiar. If in a few instances a field is left fallow for a year this is only because the cultivator has given up sowing his winter crop in sheer disgust at its repeated want of success. It is prompted by no method, but to leave the field fallow for a year does seem to have had good effect.

60. There are insect-pests, such as those called Kālagandi, Kātamānjora Barmagola and Serāi, some of which only appear

Other pests.

when the water flooding the fields is tainted with salt. It is only the south-western part of the district which salt water can reach. The interior of Chāndpur *thana* is much less affected by it than formerly on account of the silting up of the Dākāitia river near its mouth in the north-western corner of Noakhali district. The damage which is done by salt water and insect-pests is, in any case, insignificant compared with the ravages of *ufra* and the floods. Rats sometimes do considerable damage. Almost every *āil* and embankment is riddled with their holes. The cultivators find it worthwhile to dig them out after the paddy is cut, but they do so rather to get at the little stores of grain they have harvested than for the purpose of destroying them.

61. The spread of water-hyacinth has in the last few years been going on apace. Ten years ago it was almost unknown in

Water-hyacinth.

these parts. To-day the cultivators have already begun to look on it as a pest, but so little idea have they of self-help that none can be persuaded to go to the trouble of destroying it. Experiment has proved that like so many aquatic plants it is rich in salts of potassium and the ashes when burnt form a very valuable manure. So valuable is it indeed that offers were made to buy up the ashes but they have had to be withdrawn, because the cultivator immediately began mixing with them the ashes from his domestic hearth. There has been legislation intended to contest its spread in Burma and in some of the States of Australia, and legislation must come in Bengal also before long. What effect it will have is however doubtful. The extreme laziness of the cultivator will be difficult to deal with, and there is little doubt that to accuse an enemy of harbouring it on his land or in the ditches round his homestead will commend itself, as an easy method of bringing trouble down upon him. Legislation would however make it possible to put a stop to the use of the plants by fishermen.*

62. Wheat and barley are grown very little and when they are sown do not do well. Of the pulses the commonest is

Other cereals and pulses.

khesāri which is more often than not does not come to maturity. When the plants have grown to their full size and the pods have formed cattle are put in to eat it off the ground. If the plants are kept till the pods are full and ready for plucking the plant has in the meantime dried up and is no longer the excellent fodder that it was. *Matar* (peas) gives a heavier crop than any of the other pulses. If plucked when green and eaten as peas are eaten in England, they are, though smaller, as good a vegetable as the more highly cultured imported varieties and as palatable. The Bengalis do not however eat them until after they have been dried. *Mung* and *grām* are very unimportant crops. *Dhanīa* is grown and is commonly found in an onion bed. After each two or three rows of onions or garlic in the little patches in which they grow, is commonly found a line of *dhanīa* while other lines of it in the opposite direction make regular rectangular patterns across the bed.

63. It seems likely that the cultivation of the oil seeds has decreased considerably. The value of the outturn has

Oil seeds.

certainly diminished since mineral oils have come into almost universal use for lighting purposes. Linseed is very little grown. There is more *tīl*, 7,930 acres, almost half of which appears in Chāndpur subdivision. *Sarisa* (rape), on the other hand, is not commonly found in the southern part of the district, but is an important crop towards the north.

In Brāhmanbāria subdivision it covers as much as 4·6 per cent. of the net cropped area.

64. Chillies are grown in all parts of the district to an extent sufficient for local use, usually being found in little patches adjoining homesteads. It is only in certain localities that they are a field crop. In the Sadar Subdivision chillies cover 1·6 per cent. of the net cropped area and in Brāhmanbāria 1·0 per cent., but in Chāndpur subdivision as much as 2·7 per cent. Inland the crop is in little patches as in the other two subdivisions, but on the newer formations in the south-west of Chāndpur *thana* there are wide stretches under it. In the big *khās mahāl* village of Char Bairagi chillies are grown on no less than 1,148 acres out of a net cropped area of 3,505 acres. Seed is sown on wet ground in October and the seedlings, which can also be purchased, transplanted some 16 inches apart when they are 4 inches high about the beginning of December on land which has been ploughed and harrowed as many as six times. The surface between the plants is broken up and the weeds taken out some five times before the end of April. Plucking is done several times at fortnightly intervals between the beginning of March and the middle of June, commonly by old women, and the chillies are well dried on a mat in the sun before they are taken to market to be disposed of. An acre yields as much as 10 to 12 *maunds* which can be sold at Rs. 10 a *maund*.

65. Sugarcane, which is not an important crop in the district, is grown most near Comilla at the foot of the Mainamati Hills. In Chāndpur subdivision there is only 121 acres and 246 acres in Brāhmanbāria. The manner of cultivation, the same as in Bakarganj, is described in the Settlement Report for that district. The canes are sold in the markets a few at a time and are chewed as they are by cultivators and their children. A few little mills such as are supplied by Renwick & Co of Kushtia, are to be seen near Comilla, but there is little of the regular business of extracting and boiling down the sugar to molasses.

66. Jute has not had so recent an introduction to Tippera as to Noakhali where the cultivators only took to the crop in the first decade of the present century. The Superintendent of the Revenue Survey in his report only gave it a passing notice as a "useful plant which when in season sells in the bazar at Re. 1-8 a *maund*," but Gastrell* remarked in 1868 "the cultivation of jute is gradually extending itself chiefly on the *char* lands along the bank of the Meghna." The expansion of the cultivation since 1895 is shown by the acreage stated to be under jute each year according to the figures collected by the Collector :—

YEARS.		Acreage.	YEARS.		Acreage
1895	...	231,200	1907	...	310,600
1896	...	235,800	1908	...	236,400
1897	...	236,500	1909	...	236,900
1898	...	118,800	1910	...	250,000
1899	...	234,600	1911	...	275,000
1900	...	219,000	1912	...	234,483
1901	...	292,000	1913	...	277,925
1902	...	235,000	1914	...	296,321
1903	...	266,400	1915	...	180,861
1904	...	218,700	1916	...	196,517
1905	...	246,800	1917	...	228,318
1906	...	307,900	1918	...	227,521

The area which grows jute according to the settlement figures is 248,361 acres. The figures were collected for 1916 in Chāndpur and Hājiganj *thanas*, for 1917 for Matlab, Dāudkāndi, Nabinagar and Brāhmanbāria and for 1918 for the remaining part of the district surveyed. They are those of 1910 for the strip in Chāndpur and Matlab surveyed from Faridpur, of 1914 for the much narrower strip in Dāudkāndi, Nabinagar and Brāhmanbāria surveyed from Dacca, and for Chakla Roshnābād they are considerably more than 20 years old. Chakla Roshnābād is not however a jute growing area. As the record of the summer crops was written up carefully

* Geographical and statistical report by Colonel Gastrell of the Survey of India, 1868.

by the *kānunggs* at *bujhārat* the figure for the area covered by them is probably an accurate one. Such inaccuracies as there may be are not on the side of an over-estimate, for it is far more likely that the note of a crop in a particular field has been omitted than that a crop has entered which was not there. There is no doubt therefore that the figures supplied by the Collector to the Agricultural Department showed under-estimation of the crop. In normal times the absolute accuracy of the figures is, from the point of view of the Jute Trade, of little importance, so long as they show the relative expansion or contraction of the area in which jute is cultivated between one season and the next. In normal times the whole of one season's jute reaches the market some months before the next season begins and the trade has its own figures for the whole season's yield. It was only during the years from 1914 to 1917 when the war brought a fall in the price that conditions were different and any large proportion of the crop of one season was held up by cultivators till the next.

67. The area under jute in the several *thanas* is as follows :—

Serial No.	Thana name.			AREA UNDER JUTE.		Percentage of net cropped area excluding garden.
				Acres.	Square miles.	
1	Chāndpur	...	...	27,904·00	44	31·0
2	Hājiganj	...	...	10,609·05	17	9·8
3	Matlab-bāzār	...	...	33,233·02	52	45·3
4	Dāudkāndi	...	...	57,610·49	90	45·1
5	Nabinagar*	...	...	35,718·09	56	38·4
6	Brahmānbāria*	...	...	29,691·40	46	18·1
7	Kasba* ...	...	...	5,385·13	8	24·7
8	Murādnagar	...	...	29,380·03	46	25·5
9	Comilla*	...	...	4,499·42	7	14·9
10	Chandina	...	...	4,544·70	7	5·3
11	Chaudhagrām*	...	...	54·68	<i>nil</i>	·2
12	Lāksām*	...	...	1,645·66	2½	1·7
13	Chakla Roshnābād ...	...	...	8,085·47	12½	4·1

These figures show that the crop is not grown extensively all over the district and that it is still most commonly cultivated along the Meghna.

68. In Noakhali the jute grown is always of poor quality and the same is to be said of that which grows in Chāndpur

The quality of Tippera jute. and Matlab. It falls almost entirely into the classes which jute merchants call "fours"† and "rejections". Rather more which can be classed as "threes" is grown from Daudkandi northwards. The quantity of fine jute grown is not increasing but rather the reverse. To a layman it appears that the purchasing firms are in a measure responsible for this. The cultivators usually prefer quantity to quality and the purchasers are too eager to obtain the better qualities without paying a price for them so much higher than that of the inferior qualities as to encourage the cultivators to grow them. The small middlemen are most to blame. The big firms are naturally disinclined to pay these people high prices for fine jute, which they have bought only a little more dearly than the poorer qualities. The demand except for the period of the first two years of the war has always been greater than the supply, and jute of the worst quality can always find a purchaser. Improved machinery has moreover found a use for much more of the inferior parts of the fibre than formerly. The cultivator commonly uses seed which he has saved from selected plants of his own growing. He keeps for seed the plants in a corner in one of his fields where they have grown highest. The climate especially to the south is such as to encourage jute to run to a great height, and, though the crop is so much the more valuable as never to be deliberately sacrificed for the winter paddy crop, there is no doubt a

* The area of Chakla Roshnābād excluded.

† When a bale is classed as "threes" it means that the hailer guarantees that it contains 70 per cent. of clean jute which can be used at once by the mills; when he classes it as "fours" it means he guarantees that 50 per cent. is clean jute.

tendency for the cultivator who intends to grow *āman* on the same land to cut his jute too soon. The result is that sometimes the top of the plant is not ripe when it is cut and when the fibre comes into the market it is found that the top part is brittle. The lower part of a very long jute stem is thick and heavy. Often it has not become sufficiently soft in the ten or fifteen days that are allowed for steeping, and when it comes to market the thick end of the fibre is not clean. If it had been steeped longer the rest might have been spoiled. Careless stripping is also a cause of the poor quality. For this only the inherent laziness of the cultivator and his incapacity to take enough pains are to blame. At the time of retting the cultivator is really busy whereas for most of the year he has not half an hour's work a day to do.

69. Hemp is an important crop in a small group of villages in the south-west of Nabinagar *thana*. About a quarter of all that is grown in the district comes from the large village of Dariadaulat in Nabinagar *thana* and the rest from villages close by. Outside a small circumscribed area the crop may be said not to appear at all. Just across the Moghna round Narsingdi in Dacca district there is a similarly circumscribed area almost as small in which it is found. The crop, although it does not give by any means the same outturn as jute, is much more valuable than the usual crops which can be obtained at the same time of the year, and it would be more extensively grown were there as much water available for steeping it in at the season when it is ready, the month of April, as there is at the season for steeping jute. The yellow of the hemp in flower and another yellow, that of a crop called *garjan til* from which a thick oil used for painting boats is extracted, give this area a picturesque flare of colour at the beginning of the hot weather.

70. Tobacco is grown only for home consumption and is not enough for local needs. It is supplemented by a considerable import of Rangpur tobacco for which Chān Ipur and Hājiganj are important markets.

71. The 557 acres occupied by *pan-baraj*, the peculiar conservatories in which betel vines are grown, will not appear so insignificant when it is remembered how intensive is the cultivation, what an expenditure of care and labour is involved and how great is the profit. The value of an acre of *pin* is as much as Rs. 1,500 annually, so that the small area devoted to its growth represents the not inconsiderable annual value of eight lakhs of rupees. The growers are all Hindus of the *Bārai* caste.

72. That the Bengali cultivator is conservative to an extreme and the routine of agriculture and methods employed have altered little in the course of many years, is a common-place. David Paterson, whose deputation to *parganas* Bura lākhāt and Gangāmandal to hold them *khās* and prepare a rent-roll in 1787 has already been mentioned and will be mentioned again, in submitting his report to the Board of Revenue described the methods of the cultivators of his day and attempted an analysis of the cost and profit of agriculture. But for the fact that jute now replaces cotton the manner in which a cultivator of Buradākhāt uses his land to-day is exactly what it has then. The following précis of the routine of the agricultural year which is to be found in Paterson's report is a description perfect in every detail of the mode of cultivation to-day :—

"The progress of cultivation is thus:—The *aman* crop being cut in *Anghron* the reaper scatters *kissares* amongst the stubble while the soil is still moist and soft from the inundation which springs up without further trouble and is reaped in *Phaugun*, the stubble and stalks of the *kissares* are then set on fire and the ashes ploughed in with the soil. The *Suttee** *Dhūm* mixed with *amin* is then sown, the *Suttee* being a very quick growth is ripe in *Jeyt* or *Assar*. It is then cut and the *aman* which is of slower growth rises with the water and is cut in *Anghron* The inundations, if not sudden or violent in *Assar* do no harm, but do much, if sudden or violent as the *aman* is at that time young and the *Ouss* and *Suttee* ready to cut. It may be admitted that a *canny*† will yield 12 maunds of paddy in the year, the intermediate crop of *sersoo*, *till* or *kissares* produce on average from 4 to 2 maunds sometimes six but rarely."

* *Saitha*—the 60 days *aus* paddy.

† One *kani* in Baradāthat was then as now '31 acres.

Again, but for the necessary change in the figures corresponding to changes in wages and prices, the following analysis of the expenses and profits of maintaining a *kani* of *panbaraj*, the familiar betel-leaf conservatory, and description of its management fits us faithfully with the use of to-day as of 1788.

"Pawn—time of cultivation *Cautik*."

In *Jeyt* it begins to yield leaves proper for use.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Labourers for excavating the earth to the depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit ...	2	13	0
Digging and bringing earth to fill up the excavations and raise the bed	2	4	10
Bamboos and reeds to enclose, etc.	2	0	0
Bamboos for making the shed covering	2	8	0
Bamboos for posts	1	0	0
<i>Bazail</i> (1), <i>Kagree</i> (2), and <i>Null</i> (2) for covering and supporting the views	4	0	0
Rattans for tying the whole together	0	12	0
Grass	2	0	0
Work in rearing and repairing the above	1	14	0
" " forming beds and rows	0	15	0
Plants 25,000—4 annas per mille	6	4	0
Planting	1	9	0
<i>Culles</i> (3) (or refuse of the <i>Sursoo</i> after oil has been pressed) for manure	5	0	0
Coolies in constant employment for destroying worms, watering, weeding, etc., 2 at Rs. 2 per mensem	48	0	0
Total ..	81	15	0

"Its produce cannot be exactly ascertained there, being no particular season of harvest. The leaves are taken away from time to time as they ripen. The apparatus above mentioned is not a yearly expense, it will last 3 years without the necessity of repairs. The *pawn* is a creeper and is tied loosely to the reeds with blades of *ooloo* grass as it rises. It will produce for 6 or 7 years as managed in these *Pergunnahs*; they never suffer it to rise above the *choppa** but instead of shortening it by cutting they take hold of the stalk near the root and drawing it out make a fold in the stalk which they cover with earth tying up the top as before to the reeds. It shoots and rises quickly again and as often as it attains its former height another fold is taken up. The annual value of a *canny* of *pawn* is estimated at Rs. 150."

The use of oilcake as described in paragraph 87 of the late Major Jack's Settlement Report for Bakarganj might have been expected to be a modern improvement. Mr. Paterson's mention of it shows that it is nothing of the sort. Paterson gives a description of the manner of cultivating other crops and an analysis of the expenses of the cultivation similar to this one quoted for *pan*. He gives the number of ploughings, time of sowing and harvesting, amount of seed required, cost of labour at each season, outturn of the crop, etc. In reading them through there is only one change in procedure that is noticeable and that may possibly be due to a mistake on his part for the outturn he mentions is what is obtained to-day. He says that *sarisa* (mustard) was usually sown like *khesari* among the stubble of the winter rice without first ploughing the land. Now-a-days it is the rule that for *sarisa* the land is ploughed three times. He says the same regarding *matar* (peas),

(1) Small bamboos.

(2) Reeds.

(3) Khail.

* *Chapa*, roof.

but now-a-days the land is usually well ploughed at least once after the *āman* has been cut before *matar* is sown.

73. Paterson makes no mention of jute but in his day every *rāiyat* grew some cotton. The Company's most important trade was the purchase of cotton cloth for export to Europe. The "factories" in Eastern Bengal were not places of manufacture but rather receiving stations. There are the ruins of one at Sāhibganj or Pātar Hāt as the factory was called, not far from Faridganj in the south-west of the district. Its buildings consisted of *godowns*, a residence for the agent and a large *dhopikhāna* where the cloth was washed and perhaps bleached.

The Company's weavers, who had certain privileges under the Company's Regulations, one being that their landlord could not arrest them for non-payment of rent, took advances which they repaid in cotton cloth. The cotton was all grown locally. Now there is hardly a cotton plant to be found in the plains and the majority of the cultivators would not recognize one if they saw it. By 1863 the time of the Revenue Survey cotton cultivation in the plains had disappeared and the only cotton produced in these parts came down from Hill Tippera. Now in Baradākhāt *pargana* of which Paterson wrote almost every *rāiyat* grows some jute. In 1787 the profit on the cotton crop per acre to the cultivator was about the same as he would have obtained from sowing *āus* and *āman* together. But jute now gives him a very much larger profit.

74. Paterson does not in the case of most of the crops he describes give the value of the produce but only its quantity. He states however that paddy was selling at 1 maund 10 seers per rupee in 1789. There is in the proceedings of the Dacca Provincial Council, dated 22nd August 1774, a statement of the prices current in the *mufussil* at that time. Paddy was just half the price then as in 1789. If the prices of other crops in the Dacca Council's list are increased in the same proportion it is possible to complete the analysis of the profits of cultivation of the common crops. In the following table are compared the figures of Paterson's analysis thus completed with a similar analysis made to fit the conditions of the present day. Expenses include the value of the labour expended by the cultivator and his family and are estimated as if cattle, ploughs, labourers had all been hired. The figures are given for an acre of land under each crop :—

CROP.	1789.			PRESENT DAY.		
	Expense.	Gross value of crop.	Profit	Expense.	Gross value of crop.	Profit
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<i>Aus</i> and <i>Aman</i> sown together	7 12	32 0	24 14	33	100	67
<i>Aus</i> and <i>Aman</i> Rice sown separately (average).	5 12	24 0	18 4	22	60	38
<i>Mung</i> ...	4 15	8 4	3 15	15	33	18
<i>Matar</i> ...	1 7	16 10	15 3	16	45	29
<i>Khesari</i> ...	1 7	14 13	13 6	10	40	30
<i>Til</i> ...	5 12	18 12	13 0	20	26	6
Mustard ...	3 2	20 0	16 14	16	40	24
Cotton ..	15 13	40 0	24 3	...	...	...
Jute ...	...	...	...	40	180	140

From these figures it appears that *til* is hardly worth cultivating and mustard does not give the full outturn unless it is sown earlier than the land can be got ready for it after most *aman* paddy is cut. These crops are not as valuable compared with others as they were, owing to the almost universal use of mineral oils now for lighting purposes. The proportion of the gross produce which has gone in the expenses of cultivation has somewhat increased, the net profit per acre has been multiplied about two and a

half times for food-grains. As will be shown in a later chapter, there has not been a proportionate increase in the rate of rent commonly paid.

Orchards and gardens.

75. The area found to be given up to gardens in each *thana* is as follows :—

—	Acres.	Percentage of total area.	—	Acres.	Percentage of total area.
Chandpur ...	26,624	17·0	Muradnagar ...	4,123	2·8
Hajiganj ...	10,191	7·1	Conoilla [*] ...	1,539	3·5
Matlab ...	4,837	5·1	Char dina ...	6,499	5·9
Daudkandi ...	4,953	3·1	Chauddagran [*] ...	1,352	3·5
Nabinagar ...	2,943 [*]	2·5	Laksam [*] ...	5,547	4·6
Brahmaubaria ...	2,369 [*]	1·1	Chakla Roshnabad ...	1,861	·7
Kasba ...	606 [*]	2·3			

* Area of Chakla Roshnabad excluded.

This area is made up almost entirely of the spaces round the homestead filled with trees such as betelnuts, cocoanut, mango and jack fruit. It also includes small patches round the houses in which the ordinary vegetables, *bringāl*, gourds, marrows and melons are grown. It does not include the patch where the cultivator grows his supplies of tobacco, chillies, onions and garlic. The *khasra* in which classes of land and crops were noted in the course of settlement operations was of course in Bengali and written by Bengalis, and the Bengali word *bāgān* was used. These statistics therefore represent generally what a Bengali would describe as *bāgān* the significance of which is more accurately conveyed by the word "orchard" than by the word "garden." Even the word "orchard" is not an accurate translation, for "*bāgān*" may include a space planted with trees put in for the sake of shade only or with ornamental shrubs. Perhaps the best translation for the Bengali is got by using both words "orchard and garden." These remarks do not apply to the figures for Chakla Roshnābād. There it appears that the area round the homestead given up to trees was classed as "unculturable miscellaneous," and "garden" in Mr. Cumming's statistical tables translates the Bengali "*Sabjibāgān*." No means are available for a re-distribution of the figures so as to class the area in Chakla Roshnābād as it has been classed in the figures for the area surveyed in the District Settlement Operations. The anomaly must therefore remain, but in drawing conclusions from the figures it should not be forgotten. The area under "orchard and garden" is much greater in the south of the district than in the low lying north, for the land must be high, and in parts that are low there is little raised land to spare after the homesteads have been accommodated. It is much greater in the south-west than elsewhere. Wide areas in Chandpur are given up to betelnut plantations, which are a large source of income. Betelnut trees (*supāri*) will grow anywhere in the district, but they do very much better than elsewhere in the rich dark soil of the south-west, where the large proportion of vegetable matter in it enables it to retain its moisture through the dry season. Betelnut trees in other parts supply hardly more than is required for home consumption, but from the south-western part of the district there is a large export, as there is from the adjoining area in Noakhali. Cocoanut trees are uncommonly found except in the south-western part of the district. They seem to flourish exceedingly in the parts of Tippera, Noakhali and Bakarganj, as on the Madras coast and the Pacific Islands, within reach of the sea breeze, but not inland. In the rest of the district the common trees found round the homestead are jack fruit and mango trees. The date palm, palmyra, *gāb*, *lichi*, *guava*, pomalo, lemon and others are less common.

76. Betelnut trees are regularly planted in rows four feet or so apart.

The method of preparation of the garden in
Betelnut plantations.

Bakarganj has been described in detail by the late Major Jack in his Settlement Report for that district. The method

used in Tippera is the same. There also is described the manner of gathering the nuts and preparing them for the market, and the description need not be repeated here. The trees begin to bear in the eighth year and will go on bearing well for 40 years. They require no looking after except that the dead leaves are cut away every year at the beginning of the rainy season. The produce is worth about 5 annas a tree after deducting the cost of plucking and drying the nuts for the market. No count of the number of trees was made in this district, but a rough estimate of the number of trees the produce of which is available for export may be made as follows: the *bāgān* area in Chāndina *thāna* is 5.9 per cent. of the whole. In Chāndpur it is 17.0 per cent. The general level of Chāndina and Chāndpur *thānas* is about the same, as is also the frequency of the homesteads. The homesteads and gardens of Chāndina contain about the same numbers of trees as those of Chāndpur except that in the latter much more space is occupied by betelnut trees. The trees of Chāndina supply betelnuts sufficient for local use. We may take it therefore that about 12 per cent. of the total area of Chāndpur *thana* is devoted to betelnut gardens, the fruit of which is set apart for the market. Twelve per cent. of the total area is approximately 25 square miles. Similarly the general level of Hājiganj is approximately the same as that of Lāksām and there is the same parallel between the two as between Chāndina and Chāndpur; 4.6 per cent. is the "*bāgān*" area in Lāksām; in Hājiganj it is 7.1 per cent.; $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total area of Hājiganj is nearly 6 square miles. A similar comparison between Matlab and Dāudkāndi gives a result of 3 square miles. Matlab, Chāndpur and Hājiganj are the *thanas* from which betelnut is mainly exported. The area devoted to betelnut grown for export is therefore roughly 34 square miles. Such an area would support about 15 million trees. At five annas a tree the value of the produce is roughly half a crore of rupees annually.

Chāndpur is the centre of the betelnut trade. There there are merchants who deal in large quantities and export to Burma as well as to Chittagong, Calcutta and the interior of Bengal. Burmese merchants also frequent Chāndpur and take away their purchases with them. There is a by-product of the *supari* tree which is not altogether unimportant as the getting of it gives employment to many old women and children of the poorest families. A thin almost transparent fibrous tissue is taken out from the fallen leaves after removing the outer covering of the sheath-like formation where the leaf joins on to the tree stem. It is called *khui* and sold for export to Burma where it is used to supply an outer covering for cheroots and put on as they are being rolled. From 60 to 100 fallen leaves will supply a seer of *khui* and it fetches two annas.

77. There are no large plantations of cocoanut trees by themselves, but wherever they will grow there are some in each homestead and round the verge of each *supari* garden. They are grown from seed sown on high land at the beginning of the rains. They bear fruit about the 5th year and will go on bearing it is said for 60 years or more. When they are dried for the market and exported a hundred nuts fetch about Rs. 2-8, and one tree is worth from 12 annas to a rupee annually, but most of the nuts do not find their way to market. Cultivators and especially children are inordinately fond of them and it is the ordinary form of hospitality to a stranger to offer him a *dāb*, as the green nuts are called.

78. The *khejar* (date) palm produces a worthless fruit with very little more than a skin over the stone. The trees are tapped regularly. The juice is not used for making toddy but rather for *gur* (molasses) and sweetmeats. The *tāl* (palmyra) is a very fine ornamental tree raising its head well above the rest of the vegetation. It is common for a cultivator to set a stranger on his way with directions in which various *tāl* trees are the sign posts. The *tāl* tree is not tapped. Its fruit which ripens in August is mainly used for making sweetmeats. The tree is most common in Lāksām *thana* and in the season large quantities of the fruit come into Daulatganj *bazār* on *hāt* days.

79. The mangoes of Tippera are usually uneatable, small, with a very

Fruit trees.

unpleasant taste of turpentine and full of worms, but there are two or three trees in every homestead. The jackfruit is a favourite with the cultivating classes. The fruit grows to an enormous size. Plaintain trees are common, but their fruit except in certain localities is not good, often full of seeds and of poor flavour. Oranges grow well in Sylhet, the next district to the north, but not in Tippera. Lemons are very small and poor. *Guava* and *lichi* trees grow well but there are not many of them. Apricots and peaches have been tried. The latter bear fruit but the climate is too damp for them to do well.

80. The finest tree which grows in the district is the *banyan* tree.

Other trees, etc.

During April and May the beauty of the country side is enhanced by the presence of the "gold *mohur*" trees in flower. At the same season the colouring of *jārul* and yellow laburnum which are very common in the eastern part of the high central tract makes a refreshing break in the prevailing green of the landscape. Flowering shrubs of many kinds do well as do also the common English annuals, pinks, phlox, cornflower, larkspur, snapdragon, etc., but the inhabitants have no appreciation whatsoever of such things. Hardly a Bengali in the district has attempted to make himself a flower garden.

81. Bullocks are ordinarily used throughout the district for ploughing.

Agricultural stock.

There is no great prejudice against yoking cows to the plough but the practice is not so common in Tippera as in Noakhali. The cattle are mainly of local breed but according to the cattle census of 1914 the proportion of imported animals is higher than in other Eastern Bengal districts. Cattle brought down from Behar very quickly deteriorate in the damp climate. Most of those imported have not come so far. They are cattle bred in Rangpur and in districts still nearer, Dacca and Mymensingh. In most of the district, especially in the east and south-east, imported cattle are very few. They are many more in the north-west. In most of the district the cultivators seem to set little store by their cattle, give them the minimum of care and attention and leave them often on the verge of starvation. In contrast there are villages up and down the Meghna, especially around Bānchārāmpur and to the north of it, where tenants vie with one another in keeping the best bullocks. Bullock races are sometimes run and it is not uncommon to find cases in which cultivators have run heavily into debt in purchasing out of rivalry with their neighbours cattle which they could not afford to keep. Rupees 200 or Rs. 250 is sometimes paid for an animal from Hariharchhatra *mela*, which will hardly be called upon to work in the fields. The inhabitants of these parts usually buy cattle from Bāburhāt across the Meghna in Rupganj *thana*, but imported cattle are to be found in large numbers at Srighar and Bātākāndi on market days. Further inland the most important marts for imported cattle are Elliotganj and Rājārgaon, a market in the west of Hājiganj *thana*.

82. Imported cattle are usually bullocks. Few cows come in and very

The local breed.

few bulls. The local breed produces very small animals, but considering the hard life they lead they are healthy. That they are not better specimens seems to be due to two causes, lack of grazing and the practice of breeding by immature bulls. Though it is not so noticeable in Tippera as in Noakhali, it is very seldom that a full grown bull it is to be seen. The figures collected during the Settlement Operations show one bull to every eight bullocks, but the figures are liable to mislead. Bull calves are kept till they are three years old, are used to serve the cows almost as soon as they are able and are then castrated before they begin to be troublesome animals to keep. Consequently the number shown as bulls depends very much upon the individual engaged in making the count. A cultivator will often say "I have a bull," when if it were a bullock of the same age he would still call it a calf. The enumerator does not always see the animal and even when he does will often be in doubt how to class it, bull or calf. The practice of breeding from immature bulls seems to have arisen because no one wants to keep a large bull when a bullock would be more useful and more tractable. The villagers have not sufficient capacity for co-operation to keep a bull for their common use, and

there is no father of his village as in other parts of India who is prepared to do so for use of the villagers. The idea of a regular charge for service, which would be high enough to make it worth while for an enterprising man to keep a bull for the purpose, would probably be repugnant to the average cultivator.

83. Throughout the centre and south of the district grazing ground is very little. Cattle subsist on straw and paddy husks, and are mainly stall-fed. They get enough to eat just after the winter rice is cut, but during the latter part of the dry season and up till the time the *āus* paddy is cut they do very badly indeed. Where there is very little *āus* and in any case in October and November they continue to be half starved. *Khesāri* and less commonly *māshkālāi* are sometimes grown as fodder crops which the cattle eat off the ground. Along the Meghna *khālāia* grass from the *chars* is used as fodder, and inland the grass which grows over old half silted-up tanks will often fetch a surprisingly high price for the same purpose. No cultivator will set apart land for grazing which might be used to grow rice or jute. The only grazing grounds are the cattle paths which are being continually pared down by those who cultivate the plots on either side of them, the slopes of the embanked public roads and the banks of tanks.

84. In spite, however, of their small size and the precarious livelihood which they obtain, it does not appear that the cattle of the local breed are unable to do the work the cultivator requires of them. The Settlement figures show that there is in Tippera one bullock to every 3·93 acres of cropped land. Corresponding figures taken from the reports of Settlement Officers for certain other districts with which a comparison may be made are as follows :—

In Noakhali there is one bullock for every 4·56 acres of cropped land.							
In Dacca	"	"	"	3·76	"	"	"
In Faridpur	"	"	"	3·68	"	"	"
and in Monghyr	"	"	"	4·79	"	"	"

In Noakhali there are a few buffaloes used for agricultural purposes and the land never has to be ploughed until a good shower of rain has softened it. This explains how it is that the miserable Noakhali animals appear to be able to do as much work as the much finer beasts of a Bihar district. Tippera has very few buffaloes and is at a disadvantage compared with Noakhali in that rain is not always to be depended upon to make ploughing easy, but in this matter it has the advantage of Dacca and Faridpur.

85. Conditions in the matter of grazing for cattle are different in Brāhmanbāriā sub-division, especially in the extreme north, where there are wide stretches of *bil* land unfit for growing rice or any other crop and available for grazing as soon as the waters have gone down. The Mediār Hāoār near Nāsirnagar affords several square miles of good grazing and cattle are taken to it in large numbers in December and January to be brought away again in May and June. In other parts of Brāhmanbāriā there are similar stretches of grazing ground although not so large, and where there are not the villagers seem rather less inclined than further south to allow individuals gradually to appropriate the cattle paths for agriculture. That the existence of these grazing grounds has not noticeably improved the local breed of cattle is to be explained by the fact that in the rains, when the *bils* go under water, the cattle are even worse off in the north of the district than in the centre and south. There are parts where the courtyards and plinths of the homesteads take up all the land which is above water in the height of the flood, and where it is hardly possible to find a dry place upon which the cattle can stand. There is a smaller *āus* crop to give them straw in the rains, and grass is very expensive and difficult to obtain. The result is that for months together the cattle are on the verge of starvation. The existence of good grazing in the dry season has the effect of producing a plentiful supply of milk at that time, but the cultivators are unable to profit financially owing to the difficulty of taking it to market. I could not but be struck, on proceeding

by launch a day's journey from Dacca, where milk was selling at eight annas per seer—it was in the month of February, an auspicious season for Hindu marriages to take place—to Māniknagar, a few miles west of Nāsirnagar, by finding that there 14 seers were to be obtained per rupee. It seems there is an opening here for an enterprising man who would take milk and ghee into Dacca. A launch could take the evening's milking to Bhāirab and it could be sold in Dacca the next morning. but the trade would only go on for a comparatively short season, and there is often a prejudice among Muham-madans against selling milk, which might send up the price.

. 86. The number of buffaloes in the district is very small. What there

Buffaloes, sheep and goats. are are generally to be found in the northern *bils*.
Sheep are not many except in Dāudkāndi *thana*.

Goats are very numerous everywhere. The figures for their number obtained during the settlement proceedings are I fear quite worthless. The enumeration of his bullocks and cows was treated as a matter of importance by the cultivator, but when the enumeration passed on to goats he did not take it with the same seriousness. In Dacca and Faridpur Settlements, where the list went on to chickens and ducks, his face usually broke into a broad grin and he said he had one of each.

PART II.

Revenue History and the resultant system of Land Tenure.

CHAPTER I.

Before the acquisition of the Dewani of Bengal by the East India Company.

87. Such fragmentary information as is obtainable regarding this part of Bengal before its conquest by the Moghuls is to be found in the "District Gazetteer". During the Settlement Operations nothing to add to what is found there has come to light. Objects of antiquarian interest in the district are very few, mosques and temples never 250 years old. There are signs of brick buildings and earthworks in the Mainamati Hills which are far older, but nothing whatever is known regarding them. A few black stone images of Vishnu and Mahādeb have been found in the central part of the district, but they are far less common than in certain other districts. In the centre of the district there are some relics of Buddhism. The king of Kamalanka, generally identified with this part of the district and especially with Pātikāra Pargana, who welcomed Huien Tsang, the Chinese traveller in the sixth century, was a Buddhist; but it seems far more probable that the traces of the Buddhists which are still to be found are relics of much later settlements of *Maghs* from Arracan rather than relics which have survived the revival of Hinduism. Tanks, long from east to west instead of from north to south, and often called *Magher dighi* are not uncommon in the centre and south of the district. A few *Maghs* remain, and such names as Pokan and Dongu which are theirs are not uncommon among the Muhammadans.

88. Revenue history begins with the *Ain-I-Ikbari*, written in 1594, which contains an account of the first Moghul assessment of revenue in Bengal in 1587. Abu Fazl Alāmi, the writer, mentions the following Tippera *parganas* with the revenue assessed on them in *dāms*, forty to the rupee :—

				<i>Dāms.</i>	Rs.
In the Sarkar of Sonargaon—					
Baldakhal*	...	...	...	6,94,094	17,352
Tora	...	...	...	1,04,910	2,623
Meherkol	...	...	...	1,03,947	2,599
Mehar	...	...	...	60,800	1,520
Manaharpur†	...	...	...	53,301	1,332
Mahijal	...	...	...	25,000	625
Naraenpura with <i>sair</i> dues	...	...	...	9,40,760	23,519
And in the Sarkar of Sylhet, Sarkhandal‡	...	...	...	3,90,472	9,762
Total				23,73,284	59,332

These are very few of the Tippera *parganas*, but no others are mentioned. Others may subsequently have been brought under cultivation and assessment or carved out of these few, but it is certain that no others of Abu Fazl's list can be identified with estates in Tippera. The revenue given is

* The spelling of this and the names below is taken from Blochmann's translation.

† The name of part of the Gangamandal estate, then apparently used for the whole pargana.

‡ The name is used for Sarail, vide footnote to paragraph 92 below.

the *khālsa** revenue. He does not give details by *sarkārs* of the *jāigir*† revenue, but merely states that while the whole *khālsa* revenue of Bengal was 62½ lakhs the *jāigir* was valued at 43½ lakhs and the *nānkār*‡ at 3½ lakhs. Tippera being on the borders of the Moghul domain, the whole revenue of certain other *parganas* may have been *jāigir*, as was almost the whole assessment on Chaudhān and Kāsimpur-Machuakhāl, and the whole assessment on Sarāil, Joan Shāhi (mainly in Mymensingh) and Jugidia (over the border in Noakhali) at the time of Murshid Quli Khān's assessment of 1722. Though the assessment appears very low compared with the average assessment in Bengal made by Todar Mal, probably Rs. 59,332 was the total *khālsa* revenue which was paid for the estates now paying revenue in Tippera. Moherkol represents the property of the Raja of Tippera in the plains. It does not appear that Akbar realized any revenue from his property in the hills. The assessment in the plains moreover was very low. That on Narāinpur on the other hand was comparatively high. It is known that Narāinpur was robbed of part of its lands later, but the explicit mention of *sair*§ dues and the high figure for the revenue makes it probable that somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Chandpur there was an important mart at that time.

89. The revenues of Bengal underwent complete disorganization during the reigns of Akbar's successors. Jahāngir was tempted to bestow the *Subhadāri* for the promise of a regular payment of 10 lakhs a year into the Imperial treasury. In Shah Jehan's reign when the Assamese, the Tipperas and the Arracanese were all making inroads into the Moghul province, transmissions of treasure to Delhi ceased altogether. Sultan Shuja's strong administration of 20 years brought reorganization. He made in 1658 the second Moghul assessment, drew up the revenue roll afresh, added 361 *parganas* to the original 682 and increased the *khālsa* revenue nearly 10 lakhs. Most of his new *parganas* were formed by the division of existing ones, but there were some annexations, including Sarkār Udāipur, the name given to Hill Tippera and certain parts of the plains which had not until then been assessed. There were annexations also from Assam and certain *parganas* were transferred to the Subha of Orissa.

90. The next reconstruction of the revenue roll was completed in 1722 by the Viceroy Murshid Quli Khān. The increase this time in the revenue of the *khālsa* lands was 11½ lakhs, but there was a further addition of 10½ lakhs by transfer from *jāigir* to *khālsa*. The total revenue of Bengal increased from Rs. 1,06,93,152 to Rs. 1,42,83,186 between 1587 and 1722. It was not a large increase. The decrease in purchasing power of silver owing to the discovery and large output of it from the mines in the Spanish Americas had been very marked in Europe and had begun to be felt in India. The revisions of Todar Mal's assessment had not apparently been made on the basis of detailed measurement of the land and regular computation of the assets of the *parganas*, and the burden upon individual estates in 1722 was probably very unequal.

91. Such was the universality of corruption in the country in the eighteenth century, that for the Moghul *deiwān* or even a private *zamindār* to attempt to revise the assessment of revenue or rent on the basis of a measurement of the land in occupation and under the plough would have been to invite wholesale fraud, and both the Government and the *zamindārs* adopted the *abwāb* as an alternative expedient. The word has now come to signify an illegal exaction made by a landlord or by a landlord's agent from his unsophisticated tenants and put into his own pocket. Originally it had no such sinister meaning.

* Part of the revenue was immediately appropriated for military establishments. This was called *jāigir*. The net amount after deducting *jāigir* was called *khālsa*.

† The spelling used for such words as these follows the manner in which they are ordinarily transliterated and written in Bengali.

‡ Revenue remitted to the landlords.

§ *Sair* was the term used for revenue from traders or on account of markets within the *zamindārs'* estates.

It was merely an enhancement of the revenue of the *zamindārs*, and by the *zamindārs* of the rents of their tenants to meet the increased revenue, made rateably upon existing dues. It was the method of imposing an enhancement alternative to the *takhsisi** method, as it was called, of a detailed computation of the assets. Between 1722 and 1763 no less than Rs. 1,19,09,388 was added to the revenue-roll of the Province by means of *abwābs*. Out of this amount about Rs. 76,00,000 was added between 1756 and 1763. Eighty per cent. was added to the assessment in 41 years. Whether the enhanced revenues, and especially the *Kaifiyat* and *Taufir* added by Kāsim Ali Khān between 1756 and 1763, were realized to any degree exhaustively has always been a matter of doubt. The British administrators in the years following never succeeded in realizing nearly as much land revenue as the reputed roll of 1763 showed, and the method of enhancement that had been employed left as a legacy to the British the uncertainty as to the proper assessment and inequality of its distribution among individual *parganas*, which the years of administration before 1793 failed to dispel, and the Permanent Settlement has perpetuated.

92. Whether the *abwābs* imposed up to 1763 were in fact realized or realizable formed the main contention in the historic controversy in which Sir John Shore and James Grant were the spokesmen of the opposite parties in the deliberations preceding the Permanent Settlement proclamation. Grant was the man of figures, Shore the man of administrative experience. The basis of Grant's calculations, the 22 volumes of accounts in Persian which he had acquired by means of "a light and private purse" was not of unassailable authenticity and Grant's own figures are full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies. In this controversy it was the correct revenue immediately before 1765 that was at issue, and upon Grant's figures for the revenue of 1763 that aspersions were cast. He may have made arithmetical mistakes with regard to the figures for 1728 but their basis was probably satisfactory. His statement of the "*Ausi Jumma Toomary*" † (Revenue-Roll) of the "*Neabatt* ‡ of Dacca" for the year 1135. B. S., i.e., 1728 A. D., mentioned the following Tippera *parganas* with their revenues :—

Chuckleh Jehangere.

Circar Sunargam—				Rs.
Baggazir (part of Roshnābād)	...	...	...	2,400
Belsak (part of Roshnābād)	...	...	...	3,600
Bulākhkhal (Baradākhāt)	...	...	...	62,644
Buchondy (Purchāndi)	...	...	...	4,102
Burak Keneal (part of Roshnābād)	...	...	...	8,000
Bodekgong (Chauddagāon)	...	...	...	1,602
Doorlay (Dallāi)	...	...	...	4,723
Decan Shahpoor	...	...	...	3,417
Eatikadpoor	...	...	...	2,737
Gungamundel	...	...	...	16,369
Gonauundy	...	...	...	11,810
Gopaulnagur	...	...	...	615
Homnabad	...	...	...	26,817
Kassimpoor Muchwa Khal	...	...	...	610
Lohgurrah†	...	...	...	4,690

* The expression *takhsis jamabandi* is also appropriated to a special meaning to signify the assessment roll of 1722—cf. E. Wilkins' Glossary to the 5th report "Tucksees Jummaabundy."

† Grant's spelling is used here and in the table which follows.

‡ Part of Roshnabad separated and added to Gangamandal early in 18th Century.

Circar Sunargam—*contd.*

				Rs.
Mircool (Meherkul)	...	...	...	18,000
Mohabitpoor	...	...	...	6,456
Mhichal (Mahichāil)	...	...	...	3,322
Monohupoor*	...	...	...	2,030
Mehar	...	...	...	7,894
Narrainpoor	...	...	...	3,284
Noabad (Nayābād)	...	...	...	3,401
Fit Kurah (Pātikāra)	...	...	...	22,377
Singhugong	...	...	...	14,397
Shampooor	...	...	...	2,249
Serrijchaul (Srichāil)	...	...	...	1,321
Singhair	...	...	...	3,516
Sangdy (Sakdi)	...	...	...	2,942
Shahzadpoor	...	...	...	1,994
Torah	...	...	...	14,381

Circar Audipoor (Udāipur)—

Akorraillah†	...	...	...	75
Dhermpoor†	...	...	...	4,453
Davodpoor (Daudpoor)	...	...	...	6,867
Havellee Raipoor†	...	...	...	947
Kootwally,† etc.	...	...	...	29,925
Komillah Gurt	...	...	...	188
Kote Kenulla†	...	...	...	80
Noornagar†	...	...	...	25,000
Rajegong†	...	...	...	325

Before 1172 the property of the Raja of Tippera was separated from Chakla Jahangirnagar and among the corresponding "*mokakhil* or annexations" Grant mentions "Seryle or Satraundel"† with a revenue of Rs. 1,11,084 in 1128 as added from "Chuck Silhet."

The sum total of the revenue of all these properties appears to have amounted to about Rs. 4,40,000 in 1728. This property is almost the same as that formed of the *parganas* and parts of *parganas* which now pay revenue into the Tippera collectorate. All the important Tippera *parganas* are mentioned by Grant. Some of the *tappas* that appear to have been omitted are really accounted for, *e.g.*, Tappe Farukhābād then known to have been part of Singhergaon, Tappe Ibrāhimpur then part of Tora, Tappe Bārikandi then part of Baradākhāt. Those remaining are the smallest and were in all probability included in 1728 in some or other of the *parganas* which Grant mentions. Revenue is now paid into the Tippera Collectorate for a few *khārījā taluks* of foreign *parganas* and for parts of a few of the *tappas* of Sonargāon which are not included in the *parganas* that have been mentioned. On the other hand a part of Baradākhāt (*Joars* which fall in Dacca district, were made separate estates and either *daimi*-settled or still remain *khās mahōls*) now pays revenue into Dacca treasury, and some part of the revenue paid by the Raja of Tippera in 1728 was paid on account of the hills. Making allowance for these it may be estimated that in 1728 approximately

* Part of Gangamandal estate.

† Parts of the estate of the Maharaja of Tippera. Part of the revenue of Sirkar Udaipur was assessed on the hills and is included in these figures.

‡ Sarail and Satrakandal were then one *pargana* and the two names are used as alternatives. What is now called Satrakandal is a very small property. The name is used in the *Ain-I-Akbari* for both, *vide supra* paragraph 88.

a revenue of Rs. 4,35,000 was paid on account of the properties which now pay revenue into Tippera collectorate, except those since formed by alluvion.

93. This total includes both *khālsa* and *jāigir*. Grant gives a table for the "Neabat of Dacca" headed:—" *Eahtumam-bundy khalsa and jaigir* original with increased assessments of the principal *zemindary* of the Province of Dacca in 1165 A.B. when the whole number of these territorial trusts comprising the before stated 241 whole or broken *pergunnahs* were recorded 412 *athols* or farms paying separately their yearly rents to Government and in like manner continued to 1172 after annexation of the three *pergunnahs* Seryle, Zein Shahy and Turruff from the neighbouring *Chucklah* of Silhet." This list does not pretend to account for the whole revenue and is only given for the principal *zamindāris*. The following Tippera *parganas* with their *khālsa* and *jāigir* in 1135-B. S. (1728 A. D.) and the increased revenue of 1170 B. S. (1763 A.D.) appear:—

Kahtumamdarries or Zamindarries.	No. of Zemindarry.	No. of Mhals.	Ausil Jumma of 1135.			Jumma Kool Ausil and Abwab 1170.
			Khalsa.	Jaigeer.	Total.	
			Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
Gonanundy* to Hurrylia, etc., east of Migna.	6	1	3,407	8,584	11,992	25,633
Singhugong and Kunchinpoort† to Knoo, etc., east of Migna.	3	2	5,737	3,388	9,125	22,028
Torah Abrahinpoor to Russool Kassin Shuffia, etc., east of Migna.	8	2	13,292	1,088	14,501	49,588
Mehah Entire, Hing Raje Doonah	3	1	2,961	4,934	7,895	31,914
Doorlay entire to Tutteh and Maroom.	2	1	7,424	...	7,424	40,519
Sargdy to Shahbaz, etc., Chowdries	5	1	2,172	770	2,942	11,118
Kassimpoor Muchwa khal, etc., to Nerotin.	1	2	387	2,561	2,948	9,844
Homnabad to Dowlet-Jelal Bukhsh, etc.	2	1	26,827	...	26,827	Homnabad 1,09,231
Choweh Gong to Madhoo ...	5	1	45	1,556	1,602	13,411
Mhrychanla, Nursingh ...	4	1	2,797	148	2,946	14,092
Gungamundel, etc., Mahomed Jaffier.	1	7	28,568	8,113	26,681	1,03,725
Phit Kinah, etc., Abdul Hussain ...	2	4	32,015	4,166	36,181	94,638
Boulleh kahl,† etc., East of Migna, Mahomed Ibrahim.	1	3	8,893	74,950	83,843	1,36,222
Seryle or Sitrakundel East of the Sumah and Migna Mahomed Haddy.	1	1	...	14,095	14,095	40,324

The above figures account for Rs. 1,33,151 as *khālsa* and Rs. 1,23,727 as *jāigir* out of a revenue of Rs. 2,56,878 assessed in 1728.

There appears to have been no *jāigir* in the revenue of the "Zemindarry of Tipperah" dismembered from Chakla Jehangirnagar, according to Grant, some time between 1728 and 1765, and consisting of "Circular Audipoor entire excepting Davodpoor Rs. 60,993 and Circular Sunargam 4 *pergunnahs*, viz., Mhercool Rs. 18,000, Bagasar Rs. 2,400, Burakkindal Rs. 8,000 and Bilsah Rs. 3,600. Total zemindarry dismembered Rs. 92,993."

In his table giving the Ausil Jumma Toomary of the Neabat of Dacca from which the figures of the last paragraph is taken, the revenue of Seryle or Satramodel is given as Rs. 1,11,084 but he adds a note:—

"In the accounts of the Nowerah Zemindarries of Seryle and Zun Shahy (Joanshahi) when annexed to Sylhet there is a deduction from their *jumma* of Rs. 66,168 as so much retained from the exchequer dues for themselves."

* Grant's own spelling is used throughout this table.
† Kai chanpur is a Noskhail pargana. Revenue in 1135 was Rs. 2,090. Taking *khālsa* and *jāigir* in Slaghegaon and Kauchanpu as being in same proportion, figures for Slaghegaon alone are—

							Ra.
<i>Khālsa</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,863
<i>Jaigir</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,783
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,086

As far as Grant's analysis goes therefore a revenue of Rs. 3,49,871 was :—

						Rs.
<i>Khālsa</i>	...	...	...	...	...	2,16,720
<i>Jāigir</i>	...	...	...	...	...	1,31,151

In the same proportion the revenue of Rs. 4,35,000 estimated to have been assessed in 1728 on estates now paying revenue into the Tippera Collectorate stands divided as follows :—

						Rs.
<i>Khālsa</i>	...	...	...	...	...	2,50,000
<i>Jāigir</i>	...	...	...	...	...	1,85,000

The figures of the *khālsa* revenue only are given in the *Ain-I-Akbari*. This rose between 1587 and 1728 from Rs. 59,332 to Rs. 2,50,000 having increased more than four times. The increase over the whole of Bengal was about 380 per cent. During the same period in the neighbouring *parganas* now paying revenue into the Noakhali collectorate the enhancement was only 11½ per cent. The contrast between the enhancement in Tippera and in Noakhali is to be accounted for by the fact that at the earlier date the Moghuls had a far stronger hold over Noakhali than over Tippera. In the east of it they had established two military settlements somewhat in the nature of Roman *coloniæ* in *parganas* Dandra and Jugidia. Their maritime power also enabled them to keep a close hand upon the coast and islands at the mouth of the Meghna, to exact the full dues they considered fit and completely to control communications by the Meghna to their headquarters at Sonargāon close to Dacca. Further north however the kingdom of Tippera, as Abul Fazl Allami himself mentions, was still an independent kingdom under Bijay Manikya. Most of Tippera district was inaccessible to the warships of the Moghul Governor at Sonargāon and communications by road were very bad. Though the Tippera kings were not powerful enough to wrest the *parganas* east of the Meghna from Moghul dominion they were able so far to contest the Moghul power as to interfere with a sufficient assessment upon them. During most of the period between 1585 and 1772 the struggle had been going on between the Arracanese and the Muhammadans for Chittagong. The Tippera kings were during the same period definitely defeated and the Moghul power fully established.

94. The figures taken from Grant's analysis and quoted in the table at the beginning of the last paragraph show very large enhancements imposed between 1728 and 1756 upon the Tippera *parganas* which are there mentioned. The *abwābs* imposed increased the revenue of Chaudhagrāon *pargana* nearly 8 times, Homnābad, Mahichāil, Sakdi, and Mehār about 4 times, Tora 3½ times, Kāsimpur-Machuakhal, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra about 3 times, Gunānandi and Singhergāon more than twice and Baradākhāt rather more than 50 per cent. According to Grant there were further *abwābs* put upon the following *parganas* between B. S. 1170 to 1172 (A.D. 1765) :—

						Rs.
Gunānandi	...	...	...	...	...	1,710
Tora	...	...	...	...	...	6,399
Mehār	...	...	...	...	...	3,839
Dallāi	...	...	...	...	...	4,950
Gopālnagar	...	...	...	...	...	2,534
Dakshin Shahpur	...	...	...	...	...	5,239
Baradākhāt	...	...	...	...	...	34,864
Sarāil	...	...	...	...	...	5,618

Grant's analysis does not disclose the exact revenue of 1765 according to the source from which he obtained his figures, but it shows the revenue of Tippera *parganas* assessed in 1728 at Rs. 2,56,878 to have risen in 1763 to Rs. 6,96,044 and in 1765 to Rs. 7,61,297. Grant makes no mention of any enhancement upon the "Zemindarry of Tipperah," but it is known that the

assessment stood as high as Rs. 1,60,000 for the years immediately following the Quinquennial Settlement, and it is improbable that the ostensible assessment in 1765 was less than this. If this figure is taken to be the assessment on the "Zemindarry of Tipperah" in 1765, and the enhancement placed upon the small Tippera *parganas* omitted from Grant's list of the "Principal Zemindaries of the Neabat of Dacca" to have been in the same proportion to their revenue in 1728, the total assessment upon the Tippera *parganas* in 1765 according to his figures amounts to about Rs. 11,10,000. This figure is as much as the total land revenue of the district in 1910. The increase according to Grant between 1728 and 1765 was 150 per cent. The enhancement of the revenue of the whole Neabat of Dacca, covering roughly Tippera, Noakhali, Dacca and most of Mymensingh, Faridpur, Bakarganj and Sylhet, raised it, according to Grant, from Rs. 21,95,536 to Rs. 38,00,000 during this period, *i.e.*, by 78 per cent. The increase on the Noakhali *parganas* was 320 per cent. The authenticity of Grant's figures is open to doubt. Even if he gave the assessment correctly it may be taken as certain that it was neither realized nor realizable. Even so the enormous imposition upon Tippera and Noakhali points to a great increase in prosperity in these parts during the first half of the 18th century, an increase much greater than in other parts of Bengal.

CHAPTER II.

Early British Administration and the Permanent Settlement.

95. After the grant of the *Devāni* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the Company in 1765 the assessment and collection of revenue was at first left entirely in the hands of Indians. The famous Muhammad Reza Khān was selected by Clive to collect the revenue with the title of *Nāib Dewān*, and retained the position until 1772. That Muhammad Reza was himself responsible for such enormous defalcations as those of which James Grant subsequently accused him cannot have been the case, but the funnel through which the revenue was poured into the Company's treasuries leaked very badly. If the *Nāib Dewān* himself did not accumulate a large fortune it was because his subordinates helped themselves so freely. The expectations of the Company in regard to the revenue also appear to have been exaggerated, and the first few years brought disappointment in the matter of the realizations. The first step towards reform was the appointment of European Supervisors in 1769, whose functions were to make enquiries, historical and statistical, with a view to an estimate of what revenue the Company should expect to receive. Chittagong had been one of the districts ceded to the Company in 1760 and there had been a strong European administration ever since. The rest of the country east of the Meghna was within the "*Ihtimām* of Jāllālpur" and the collections were in the hands of the *Devān* at Dacca, one Heymat Singh who used the title of *Rāja* and was paid at the high rate of Rs. 4,000 a month. At Dacca also there was an European Supervisor, Mr. Middleton, of the Company's service. In August 1771 the Court of Directors determined and on 11th May 1772 the proclamation was issued from Fort William publishing their determination "to stand forth as *Devān* and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenue." Warren Hastings arrived in Bengal and it was immediately determined that farming settlements would afford the easiest and most productive system of assessment to be adopted.

96. In May it was decided that the first settlement should be for five years from the Bengali year which had just begun. The conclusion of these settlements was left to a Committee of Circuit consisting of the four junior members of Council. The Company had hoped that the bidding for the farms which were to be made

would give them an insight into the real value of the properties concerned, but in this they were disappointed. In each *pargana* the only bidders against the old *Zamindārs* were no more than speculators with no real knowledge of the property. The old *Zamindārs* were not encouraged. Speculators whose intention was to realize as much as possible within their term of five years at once outbid them with offers of revenue which they knew their estates could not bear continuously. Though in some instances the *Zamindārs* in order to retain their properties bid very high, usually settlements were concluded with the speculators, and instead of improving the condition of uncertainty as to what the revenue of each *pargana* ought to be, the system did more harm than good by the extinction of the old rent collecting agency which the *Zamindārs* had employed.

97. In May 1772 the Supervisors, whose enquiries had been unsuccessful, and in the nature of the case it could not have been otherwise, become Collectors. In the summer of 1772 when Middleton at Dacca was succeeded by Nathaniel Greuber, Barton at Lakshmipur was Collector for Bhulua and other *parganas* and also received the revenue paid by the Tippera Raja, and Thakeray was Collector of Sylhet.

98. The difficulty of realizing the revenue of the Quinquennial Settlement even for the first year determined the Council in Calcutta to adopt a policy of centralization. Though, as results afterwards proved, it was not the collecting agency that was at fault, Collectors were abolished in 1773 and collection placed under the control of the Provincial Councils which were established in that year. The "Zamindāri of Tippera," the property of the Rāja of Tippera, was placed under Chittagong, which remained separate, but the rest of the country east of the Meghna passed under the control of the Provincial Council at Dacca.

99. There was, however, no improvement in the collection of revenue and it became gradually more and more appreciated that the farming system, applied as the Committee of Circuit had applied it, was a failure. That Committee had carried its methods to an extreme when it concluded a settlement covering by one agreement *parganas* Jugidia,* Chaudhagrām, Bābupur,* Dāndrā,* Ellāhabād,* Uttar Shāhbāzpur† and seven-anna shares of Dallai and Gunāndi with one Gakul Mukhārji of Calcutta. One of these *parganas*, Uttar Shāhbāzpur, lies west of the Meghna. The others are scattered over an area reaching from Chandpur to a point a few miles west of Comilla and to the borders of Chittagong. At the end of the first four years of the settlement Gakul Mukhārji was in arrears to the extent of Rs. 50,453. On the east of the Meghna, in what are now the districts of Tippera and Noakhali, Bhulua owed to the extent of Rs. 48,000, Gangāmandal Rs. 42,000, Mehār Rs. 13,714, Pātikāra Rs. 11,704 and Sandwip as much as Rs. 1,43,683, a sum approaching two years' revenue.‡

100. The Court of Directors had already determined upon a change of policy, and in 1776 had ordered that after the term of the Quinquennial Settlement had expired, the old *parganas* should be dealt with individually on resettlement. Their instructions provided that "none be in future let by public auction" that "preference be given and every indulgence shown to the natives resident on the spot and that no European nor the *banyan* of any European be permitted to hold any share" and that "preference be given to the hereditary *zamindārs*". They further expressed themselves as follows—"Though it is not thought expedient to grant a settlement in perpetuity yet the Court of Directors wish the *zamindārs* to understand that provided they are fair to their tenants and regular in their payment of revenue to Government, they will in all cases be given preference and not molested or dispossessed." The settlements were not to be for more than two years and in

* Now Noakhali *parganas*.

† Now a Bakarganj *pargana*.

‡ Proceedings of the Dacca Provincial Council dated 17th April 1777.

these parts were always for one year only. The policy established by those instructions was maintained until the Decennial Settlement was determined upon. The Provincial Councils were empowered to conclude settlements of *parganas* the revenue of which was not more than Rs. 30,000. The cases of larger ones were to be referred to Calcutta.

101. The revenue at the annual settlements concluded upon these instructions was very much lighter and the arrears unpaid became very much less. East of the Meghna the arrears at the end of the first annual settlement were insignificant. Nominally the revenue was payable at numerous *kists* throughout the year, but in practice payment at these *kists* was not enforced. Accounts of collection from Bhulua for 1191, B. S., show that Rs. 66,224, three-quarters of the annual revenue, was collected between the 20th of Agrayayan and the end of Chaitra, i.e., after the winter rice crop had been cut. Later on, however, when Collectors were appointed, returns of their collections at every *kist* were required, and their explanation demanded in the case of any arrears outstanding. They began to enforce regular payments at each *kist* and the result was that *zamindārs* in order to pay their dues did their best to realize rent from their tenants before the *kist* and the tenants often had to pay by borrowing money on their crops before they were cut.*

102. The Dacca Council remained until 1781, when following a policy of further centralization, the functions of all the Provincial Councils in concluding settlements were brought together in the hands of the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta. Collectors were again appointed but their functions were to be confined to collection and miscellaneous duties and they were not trusted to conclude settlements. From time to time since 1774 there had been an Assistant from the Dacca staff at Mymensingh, Bakarganj and Bhulua. In May 1779 Henry Lodge of the Dacca Council had been deputed to superintend the collections of *parganas* Bhulua, Jugidia, Dāndra, Ellāhābād, Chauddagrām, Gopālpur-Mirzānagar and Bābupur. Though he did not join owing to his ill-health, these *parganas* formed the nucleus of the district of Bhulua which was formed about 1785 after the Provincial Council broke up, but only lasted until 1787. Dakshin Shāhabāzpur, Homnābad, Mehār, Tora, Pātikāra and Dallāi seem also to have been included. The revenue roll in 1787 showed a total of Rs. 6,96,472.

103. In the year 1784 the Act for the "Better Regulation and Management of the affairs of the East India Company" was passed by the Houses of Parliament and great reforms in the administration system were evolved before Lord Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta in September 1786. They were in the direction of decentralization. The Council of Revenue was dissolved and the assessment of revenue devolved upon the Collectors, who were placed under the control of a Board of Revenue. The Province was divided according to Sir John Shore's proposals among 23 collectorates. Bhulua as a separate collectorate disappeared. Estates with a revenue of Rs. 5,88,434 were transferred to Mymensingh, the rest with a revenue of Rs. 9,818 to Dacca Jāllālpur. Some time between 1780 and 1787 Sandwip seems to have been placed under the Collector of Chittagong. The jurisdiction of the Collector of Mymensingh extended from the foot of the Garo Hills down to the borders of Chittagong district. With his headquarters at Mymensingh he was very far removed from his charge in what is now Noakhali district. The boundaries of jurisdiction in those days east of the Meghna as in other parts of Bengal were very confused. The revenue of the "Zamindari of Tippera" was collected by a "Resident" at Comilla who was subordinate to the Collector of Chittagong. The first to occupy the post, Duncan Campbell, joined in 1776 and was succeeded in 1778 by Leake, after whom the road through Chhagalnāiā thana connecting Chauddagrām with Chittagong is named, and he by John Buller in 1785. Pātikāra *pargana*, Muhabbatpur, part of Mehār and Tappe Durgapur appear

Annual settlements.

1781 to 1790.

Changes of jurisdiction east of the Meghna.

Most of Tippera and Noakhali passed to Mymensingh Collectorate, 1787.

to have paid revenue in Dacca in 1787 and a share of *pārgana* Mahichāil seems to have paid its revenue in Murshidabad. East of the Meghna almost all the remaining property was within the jurisdiction of the Collector of Mymensingh. Pātikāra and the share of Mahichāil were transferred to Mymensingh the next year. In August 1787 David Paterson, a covenanted servant of the Company, was placed in charge of the collection of Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal *parganas*. The *zamindārs* of the former were ladies, the *zamindār* of the latter had died leaving no male heir and property had been sold, but the agents of the old family had collected as much rent as possible in advance and decamped with it, leaving the purchaser unable to realize enough to pay his dues. Paterson's instructions were not only to collect the rent, but after regular measurement of the lands under cultivation to draw up a rent-roll. When his rent-roll was completed he proposed handing over the two *parganas* to Buller, the Resident at Comilla, instead of returning them to the Collector of Mymensingh. The awkwardness of the distribution of jurisdiction had often been manifest, as for example when the Resident at Comilla corresponded in 1788 with the Collector of Mymensingh regarding attacks by dacoits living in *pargana* Bedarābād, which was in Mymensingh, upon the neighbouring *pargana* Dakshinsik, the scene of occurrence being some miles to the south-east of where Feni now stands. Buller pointed out that if Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal were made over to him he would require the establishment of a Collector and suggested that the *parganas* to the south also should be placed under his charge. The Board of Revenue agreed and in March 1790 Wroughton, the Collector of Mymensingh, made over to him all the *parganas* that had belonged to Bhulua except Dakshin Shāhabāzpur. He had already taken over Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal and the new "Collectorate of Tippera" comprised practically all the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali with the exception of Sandwip *pargana* (including Hatia, Bānni islands) which was still part of Chittagong and Sarāil *pargana* which remained in Mymensingh.

104. The internal administration of the country after the acquisition of the Dewāni of Bengal by the Company suffered

States of things in the *mufassil*.

much from the frequent changes of policy, and especially the attempts to centralize the revenue

administration in the hands of officials who made little attempt to move away from Calcutta and a few centres outside, of which Dacca and Chittagong were the only ones in Eastern Bengal. The Company's protection secured the country against incursions from outside, but left internal conditions very much as they would have been had the country passed again under such a powerful authority as that exercised by the great Moghul Emperors. The Quinquennial Settlement had done much to break the power of the great landlords, but their methods remained much what they always had been. In 1780 a dacoit of Homnābād named Alam Ghāzi raided part of the Rājā of Tippera's property and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Resident dissuaded him from attacking the Homnābād *zamindārs* by way of reprisal. In 1782 the Rājā of Tippera whose revenue to the extent of Rs. 52,000 remained unpaid was in the hands of a set of vicious Bengali favourites. He refused to come to Comilla to meet the Resident, collected men, barricaded the road to Apartala and sent emissaries to neighbouring *Zamindārs* calling them to join him in resisting the Company. *Parcānas* were issued by the "Chief at Dacca" to the *Zamindārs* to withhold assistance from him, but the Chaudhuris of Taraf in Sylhet and probably some others had determined to throw in their lot with him. Some sepoys, however, were sent to Comilla and this show of force proved sufficient. The properties of the Rājā in the plains were settled direct with the *tālukdārs* while he was given an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month as *mālikānā* and allowed to hold the hills without assessment.* Shortly before Paterson took over the collections of Baradākhāt, Rājā Jugal Kishore of Mymensingh had raided *pargana* Singda (in Dacca) the joint

*This is the origin of the "independence" of the Maharaja of Hill Tippera and explains how it is that there are no treaties binding him with the British Government, as in the cases of other independent princes. Cf. official correspondence of Tippera, 1882.

property of Baradākhāt and Maizurdi, and, as soon as he joined, Paterson received a letter from the *Zamindār* of Maizurdi proposing an offensive and defensive alliance. It was found in 1791 that the eldest son of the *Zamindār* with the largest share of Bhulua *pargana* had a series of "Killahs fortified with strong mud walls and garrisoned by 50 to 150 men each well armed with matchlocks, roybanses, tulwars and other weapons" and that there were "multitudes of complaints against him for dispossession of talooks, robberies, murders, extortions, etc." His forts were however broken up, his men dispersed and himself sent up for trial. The *Zamindār* of a share of Dāndrā and Ellāhābād *parganas* was convicted of dacoity and murder, sentenced to imprisonment for life and his property confiscated about the same time, and as soon as the effects of the policy of decentralization began to be felt by such actions as these, the state of things in the *mufassil* began very rapidly to improve.

105. Lord Cornwallis had come out with instructions from the Court of Directors and the intention of making a permanent settlement. It was not long after his arrival before he realised that the 20 years' of Revenue administration since the acquisition of the *Dewānī* had by no means given sufficiently exact information as to what the revenue should be. Annual settlements were again made all over Bengal and Behar for the years 1787 and 1788. The Regulation providing for the Decennial Settlement in Bengal was passed in the beginning of 1790. For the whole of what is now the Dacca Division and Tippera and Noakhali the Decennial Settlement was postponed for one year on the ground of the number of *kārija tāluks* the owners of which claimed the right to be separated from their *Zamindārs*.

When asked again in November 1791 why the "Novennial Settlement" was not complete the Collector of Tippera, Buller, again gave as his excuse the number of *khārija tāluks*, and there was still further delay occasioned by his translation to a seat on the Board of Revenue in December, and the succession of McGuire. McGuire had submitted proposals regarding all his estates and answered the Board's criticism of them only by November 1792, the settlements to have effect from the beginning of the Bengali year. Actually therefore after Lord Cornwallis' arrival and decentralization which placed the function of concluding settlements in the hands of the Collectors, there were annual settlements in Tippera and Noakhali each year for 5 years, and the knowledge which was gained in these five years regarding the assets of the various *parganas* was very valuable.

106. The annual settlements after 1777 had established a certain revenue for each *pargana* that it could undoubtedly bear. The wholesale system of farming settlements had been proved to be useless as an expedient for discovering how much could be borne in addition. The expedient of a detailed enquiry and estimate of the assets of every estate on the basis of a measurement of the cultivated area was not seriously advocated. Its cost no doubt appeared prohibitive, the necessary staff for supervising the native surveyors, or *Munsifs* as they were called, was not available, and the opposition of the landlords would have been very strong. It had always been recognised that as an alternative to concluding settlement of an estate with the proprietor or farming it with another person, the Company could retain the collection of rent from the tenants in its own hands. When an estate was thus held *khās*, the plan that was adopted was to employ an Indian to have charge of the collections on behalf of Government. If one was to be found who could give substantial security he was chosen. Such a person was called *Sazāwal*. The reason for not employing Europeans to supervise the collection of rents was given in the days of the Dacca Council to be that they were not in a position to give a security from which the Company could recover its losses if the arrangement was not a success. When Buller, the first Collector of Tippera, took over charge from Wroughton, the Collector of Mymensingh *Pargana* Pātikāra was in the hands of a *Sazāwal* and another had charge of the collections of certain parts of *Pargana* Bhulua, which belonged jointly to the 12-anna and the 4-anna proprietors. But *Sazāwals* too often decamped with

what they had collected as did the *Sazāwal* of the *muklus* (joint) lands of Bhulua, as they were called. and another in *Pargana* Gangāmandal a little later. Where the *Sazāwal* was comparatively honest his employment did give the Collector some insight into the real figures of the *mufassil* rent-roll. In a few cases of big estates which for one reason and another it happened to be necessary to hold *khās* during the period, all too short, of 5 years after 1787, an European of the Company's Covenanted Service was put in charge of the collections. When this was done he was instructed to make a thorough enquiry as to what the land revenue ought to be and prepare a detailed rent-roll. The result gave the first reliable evidence the Company had ever had regarding the true assets of the property. In what was then Tippera district there were two such cases. David Paterson was deputed to hold *khās* Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal in 1787 and George Dandridge, Bhulua in 1790.

107. Paterson, a shrewd observant Scotchman, had been several years in the country before his deputation to Baradākhāt. David Paterson in Baradākhāt. He had been "Registrar of the *Kānungo Daftar*." and as such must have visited many parts of Bengal and have gained just the experience which best suited him for the work he had to do. When he undertook the preparation of the rent-roll on the basis of a field-to-field measurement he knew perfectly well how rotten was the staff of surveyors, he was obliged to employ. To defeat them he invented a method which he called *dawk pertaul*. When a *munsif* had finished measuring the plots of a village, either Paterson himself or a specially selected *munsif* would check a number of plots chosen at random. The area of all the other plots in the village was then written down so much more in proportion than the *munsif* had written them, as the remeasured plots had been found larger by the remeasurement than they had been first written. The system was very unfair on individuals, and the Board ultimately ordered the reduction of the rents by as much as Paterson had increased them by the application of it. Its invention shows however that Paterson knew his men. He also made an analysis of the economics of agriculture which has already been referred to in paragraph 74 of this report, but he did not use it in framing his rent-roll. The latter was based on existing customary rates. He abolished nine *abwābs* in Baradākhāt which had been imposed by the *zamindār* within the preceding 15 years and had added 25 per cent. to the rates. but the accuracy of his measurement rather more than made up for the difference in the total assessment on the tenants. His rent-roll showed that in the *khās* (where no middlemen intervened between the *zamindārs* and the cultivators) the total rental was Rs. 1,68,925 and the gross rental, including that paid by *tālukdars*, Rs. 1,81,738. The *zamindār's* rent-roll had been Rs. 1,77,880. In Gangāmandal the total rental of the *khās* was Rs. 37,410 and the gross rental, including that paid by the *tālukdars* Rs. 68,242. Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal continued to be held *khās* until the conclusion of the Decennial Settlement with the proprietors, and the rent-roll was revised on the basis of remeasurements first by one Samuel Simms* whom the Board refused to allow to finish the work as he was not a Covenanted Servant of the Company, and afterwards by the Collector's "Assistants". The rental of Baradākhāt rose by Rs. 12,271 in 1790 in spite of deduction due to the repudiation of Paterson's *dawk pertaul* system, rectification of mistakes which he had made by including certain some small arrears in his rent-roll, and the abolition of a tax on bird-catchers and snake-charmers which however only yielded Rs. 29. The Board had expected a total of Rs. 2,31,600 and were disappointed. The rental of Gangāmandal did not increase for various reasons which the Collector, John Buller, gives in a very interesting letter written to the Board on the 24th of November 1790. The correspondence of the period shows that the Collector obtained materials for a very close estimate of the assets of the two *parganas*. The consequence was that Baradākhāt was heavily assessed at the Decennial Settlement and two-thirds of it came into Government's hand by Revenue Sale in the first part of the nineteenth century. The assessment

* Whether Mr. Pym mentioned in the Gazetteer and elsewhere was a different person from Mr. Simms I am inclined to doubt.

on Gangāmandal did not prove so heavy because its tenants had suffered considerably from floods and oppression before it was held *khās*, and much of it was not cultivated at the time of measurement.

108. After the experience of the absconding *sazāwal* in Bhulua the

George Dandridge in Bhulua.

Board determined that the same thing should not happen again. Besides the dispute between the two sets of proprietors over the *mulut* (joint) lands they had others in other parts of the *pargana*. The 4-anna proprietor complained that he had been forcibly dispossessed of a number of villages and applied for an equitable partition of the whole *pargana*. George Dandridge was placed in charge of the collections of the entire *pargana* in June 1790 with instructions both to prepare a rent-roll as Paterson had done for Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal and to make a partition of the 12-anna and the 4-anna shares. He was not the level-headed Scotchman that Paterson was, and was a younger man. Moreover while in Baradākhāt the proprietors were minor girls, and in Gangāmandal a recent purchaser, in Bhulua the 12-anna co-sharers were descendants of the original Princes of Bhulua and of certain of their most capable servants who had contrived to possess themselves of fractional interests in the *zamindāri*, and the 4-anna co-sharer was Ganga Gobinda Singha who had been Warren Hastings' *Dewan*, a man in a position to pull many of the strings of Government from Calcutta. These could not be

His difficulties.

expected to leave Dandridge at peace to collect their rents and frame a rent-roll for their property, even though they were to get an allowance (*mushāhārā* was the term then used) of 10 per cent. of the collections. The 12-anna co-sharers opposed him at every turn and the attitude which he took up did not improve matters. He had been sent in the capacity of a Revenue Officer, but he found a state of anarchy and oppression which made him forget his original instructions and enter into a campaign in the interests of law and order. This brought upon himself a severe reprimand from the Board and orders to confine himself strictly to the work for which he had been deputed, leaving aside everything which ought properly to be the business of the "Foujdarry Department". He was to do his best to have his allotment and rent-roll ready so that the Decennial Settlement should not be more than one year late. These instructions were dated 11th July 1791, eleven months after his deputation. His progress after this was still unsatisfactory. The proprietors would agree to nothing he proposed and in the March following the Board instructed him to complete the allotment for the partition as a judicial proceeding instead of requiring the proprietors to agree to each step as he made it. Even then it was not till October 1792 that he sent in his papers complete. The Board considered them unsatisfactory and the proprietors would not agree to take settlement upon the basis of them. Dandridge was removed and George Thompson, Assistant at Comilla, was deputed in his place in November. He was very successful with the collections and the rent-roll, but the proprietors would not at first agree to the allotment, although ultimately they did so.

109. Pātikāra *pargana* was under *khās* management when it was made

Other *parganas* held *khās* just before Decennial Settlement.

over to Buller by the Collector of Mymensingh, and before the Decennial Settlement was completed Dāndra* and Ellahābād*, Jugidia*, Amirābād* (of Bhulua), part of Tora, Gunānandi, Tappe Farukhābād and some of the *tālūks* of Amrābād* were held *khās*, although in the case of these as well as Pātikāra it was only through the agency of *Sazāwals* who as often as not proved dishonest. A sound knowledge of the assets of Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal had been gained, information had been obtained not quite so reliable regarding Bhulua, and some indication of the assets of a number of other *parganas*. Chakla Roshnābād had been settled piecemeal, direct with *tālūkdārs* ever since 1781. The Collector of Tippera was, therefore, at the time of the Decennial Settlement in a much better position as regards real knowledge of the capabilities of the estates of his district than Collectors in most parts of Bengal. The work of concluding the settlement was begun by John Buller.

He became a Member of the Board of Revenue in December 1791 and succeeded by McGuire who was transferred to Dinajpur in June 1793. McGuire was followed by Parr who remained until the settlement proceedings were finished except in the case of a few estates which for special reasons remained *khās* or were let in farm for a little longer.

110. The most troublesome work was the separation of the *khārīja tāluks*. The whole of Amrābād *pargana* now in Noakhali was divided into some 1,500 *khārīja tāluks* and the old proprietors' families receive a permanent *mālikāna* to this day. The settlement of this large *pargana*, which proved more difficult than any other, has been described at length in the Settlement Final Report for Noakhali. Except in Amrābād and Chākla Aswadia the *parganas* now in Noakhali remained almost intact. Few *tāluks* were separated from the Tippera *parganas* except those on the south-western part of the district. None were separated from Homnābād, Syāmpur, Kadba, Tappe Durgāpur, Tappe Ibrāhimpur (an offshoot of Tora), Joār Lakshanpur or Chākla Roshnābād, for which settlement was again made with the Tippera Rāja. Only 8 were separated from Baradākhāt, 2 from Gangāmandal, 1 from Gopālnagar, 2 from Mehār, 3 each from Dallai and Chaudhagrām and 6 from Nārāinpur. A fifth of Tora was separated in 118 *khārīja tāluks*, a fifth of Tappe Farrukhābād in 133, a fifth of Srichāil in 36, one-ninth of Mahichāil in 22, a quarter of Gunānandi in 379, a quarter of Kardi in 8 and half of Singhergāon in 182. 273 *tāluks* with a revenue of Rs. 6,283 were separated from Purchāndi leaving only Rs. 2,947 to be paid by the *zamindār*, while Muhabbatpur was completely disintegrated. The instructions circulated by the Board were to the effect that Collectors were not to enquire too closely into the right of *tālukdārs* to be separated, a right which was indeed too vague to be accurately defined, but to grant separation to every applicant when the *zamindār* raised no objection. The assessment of revenue upon the *tāluks* to be separated was a matter in which great care was required to prevent frauds such as that attempted by a number of *amlā** in Pātikāra but detected. They tried to get some of the best land of the *pargana* separated in the names of their relatives or in fictitious names at a low revenue. The separation was made on the basis of the "*taksim jama*" of the *tāluks*. Jonathan Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay, found during an enquiry which he made in 1777 in Sandwip *pargana* (now in Noakhali) that the revenue in 1692 had been Rs. 6,976-11-13 which figure he wrote "appears from the *Canungos* *Duftar* to have been the first aggregate of revenue regularly distributed among and proportionally assessed upon the several villages and *talooks* of which the *pergunnah* was then composed. It has therefore been since transmitted down as the *Tuxemy Jummah* or fundamental rental on which all future increases have been rated or are supposed to have been rated to the present day." In Wilkins' Glossary (1813) printed at the end of Feringer's edition of the 5th Report "*Tuckseem*" is explained thus:—"Division, distribution. The divisions or constituent parts of the assessment called the *Tumar Jamma* and comprehending not only the quota of the greater territorial divisions but of the villages and of the individual, *Ryots*." The Glossary defines the *Tumar Jamma* as the "Roll amount the sum total of an assessment inrolled or recorded in the public register. The term is particularly applied to the standard Money assessment, by measurement, of the land revenues, formed by Todar Mull about A.D. 1582 during the reign of Aekbar, by collections, through the medium of *Canungoes* and other inferior officers the accounts of the rents paid by the *Ryots* which formed the basis of it. It is also used to designate the same standard assessment as it was reformed under Sultān Sujah in 1658 and by Jāffer Khān in 1722." In Sandwip it was a revenue assessed in 1692 that was distributed as the *taksim jama*. Whatever may have been the date of the assessment so distributed it seems that it was part of the duty of the *Kānungos* in each *pargana* in Moghul days to maintain a statement of the *taksim jama*, a distribution of some old assessment over the divisions within it. Enhancements of the rent of tenants were made, as enhancements of the revenue of *parganas* were made by *abāwhs*

* Landlords' agents.

The incidence of these upon the tenants' holdings was rateable according to the *taksim jama* of the holdings. In adjoining *pargana* the *taksim jama* might date from quite different times. Throughout each the tenant's rents were the same multiple of the *taksim jama*, but the multiple would be different for each *pargana*. The Collector's method of assessing the revenue to be placed upon the *tāluka*s to be separated in 1792 was to examine the *taksim jama* and hit upon a multiple which he considered fair, one which would bring the revenue of the *tāluka*s to the same or a little below the rent which they appeared to be paying to their *zamindārs*. The multiple he chose was different in different *parganas*. In some, where the *taksim jama* dated from very early times or times when the cultivation had not spread far, the multiple was much larger than in others. The *Tāluka*s of Amrābād were assessed at 150 times the *taksim jama*. The revenue of a share of rather over eight annas of Tora was fixed at Rs. 9-15-0 on every rupee of the *taksim jama*. When there were many *khārīja tāluks* there was considerable increase in the total revenue of the *pargana* at the Decennial Settlement. The following table shows the result of the assessment in some of them :—

<i>Pargana.</i>	Revenue of 1198 B. S.	AT THE DECENNIAL SETTLEMENT.		
		Total revenue.	No. of <i>khārīja</i> <i>tāluka</i> s.	Revenue of <i>khārīja</i> <i>tāluka</i> s.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
Purchān ...	7,468	9,230	278	6,283
Singhergāon ...	14,505	17,512	182	8,263
Tappe Farrukhābād ...	14,119	15,543	133	3,320
Sakdi ...	11,151	16,140	75	7,434
Gunānandi ...	30,253	34,299	379	7,907

111. Where *khārīja tāluks* were few or none, and the Collector had little or no knowledge of what the assets of the *parganas* really were, his proceedings were somewhat arbitrary. The proprietor of an eight annas odd share of *pargana* Tora whose revenue for the year 1199 B. S. (1792 A.D.) was Rs. 15,000 complained, after McGuire's transfer, that he had kept him 15 days in prison and only released him upon his signing a *tāhud* (the form of agreement used) promising to pay Rs. 16,500 revenue for 1200 B.S. and Rs. 18,000 from 1201 B.S. onwards. It was found on investigation that he actually was in prison, although it was for arrears of revenue, when he signed the *tāhud*, and was released on his doing so. In face of this discovery the Board allowed his revenue to stand at Rs. 16,500 for 1201 B.S. A fresh settlement was concluded on the report of Parr, but at a rate of Rs. 9-15 for every rupee of the *taksim jama* which raised it considerably above Rs. 18,000 which the proprietor had agreed to pay when he signed the *tāhud* in the time of McGuire. The revenue of Tora stood at Rs. 24,881 only in 1198. In the Decennial Settlement its revenue was over Rs. 38,000.

112. A rule had been made by which at the Decennial Settlement the revenue of no estate was to be enhanced if it had stood at the same figure for twelve years continuously before the settlement was made. Following this rule the Collector refrained from proposing enhancement in a few cases, and there were several in which the Board on account of it struck off enhancements which he had proposed. Wroughton, the Collector of Mymensingh, when he handed over the *pargana* to Buller in 1790 had expressed the opinion that Kadba was under-assessed, but the revenue had remained unchanged except for *Sair** deductions which were not taken into account in applying the rule, and the Board vetoed McGuire's proposal to increase it. In the case of Kismat

* *Sair*, dues realized by *Zamindārs* from markets. These dues were ordered no longer to be realized and remission of revenue on this account was given under orders passed by Lord Cornwallis almost as soon as he arrived in Bengal.

Mahichāil, the 2 annas share of Mehār, Gopālpur-Mirzānagar, Tappe Jaynagar, two shares of Sakdi and two *tālaks* which had long since been separate Tāluk Indra Nārāin Basu and Tāluk Ram Nārāin Gop, increases proposed by the Collector were similarly struck off.

113. The revenue of Homnābād in 1196 B.S. was Rs. 76,068. There were certain *sāir* deductions, but a large enhancement proposed for 1198 was not included in the Decennial Settlement for which the revenue stood as Rs. 71,501 only. Tappe Durgapur paid Rs. 5,275 in 1196 and no enhancement was proposed. The following table shows the enhancement in the case of some other parganas :—

			Revenue in 1198.	Revenue of Decennial Settlement.
			Rs.	Rs.
Dallai	...	...	43,836	46,881
Mehār	...	...	30,762	34,286
Nārāinpur	...	...	2,835	3,467
Syāmpur	...	...	2,934	3,400
Tappe Ibrāhimpur	...	...	2,168	2,603
Chauddagrām	...	...	4,140	7,741
Gopālnagar	...	...	1,635	2,002

The enhancement was generally more in the Tippera parganas than in those now belonging to Noakhali.

114. The parganas that were being held *khās* were offered to their proprietors in settlement. Bhulua was settled at Rs. 96,340. The rent-roll based on Dandridge's figures had shown its revenue after payment of *malikana* at 10 per cent. to be Rs. 1,00,369 for the year 1198 B.S. Paterson's rent-roll for Baradākhāt had been Rs. 1,81,738. The collections in the years following had never reached this figure although the rent-roll had been increased. The husbands of the heiresses who had been offered settlement, would not take it at the revenue of Rs. 1,74,764 which was demanded. The estate remained *khās* until the end of 1795 when the Collector Parr, proposed to allow them to take settlement at no more than Rs. 1,50,000 and at this rate it was permanently settled. Havili Muhabbatpur, part of Gangāmandal, was transferred to Dacca as it lay to the west of the Meghna. Paterson had omitted it from his survey and its rent-roll was not included when he estimated the total of the rent-roll at Rs. 68,272†. Collections in Gangāmandal had not been very satisfactory and settlement was concluded with the proprietor Rājā Naba Krishna Dev at a revenue of Rs. 41,826, two *tālaks* having been separated at a revenue of Rs. 1,315. The Decennial Settlement of Pātikāra was made with Mirza Muhammad Bakar, husband of one of the heiresses of Baradākhāt in 1793, as *Sarbārakār*† on behalf of the minor proprietor, at a progressive revenue rising from Rs. 39,865 for 1199 B. S. to Rs. 79,182 in 1203 and continuing at the same rate till 1206. The revenue was not paid in full after the first year and the minor proprietor died in the year 1800 A.D. The Collector after a close examination and after referring the matter to the Board of Revenue allowed an agreement to be executed on behalf of the two little girls, who were the heiresses of the estate, by which the revenue was to be Rs. 56,000 for the year 1207 B.S. and Rs. 61,000 from 1208 B.S. onwards. The revenue for the year 1210 B.S. was not paid in full. Part of the estate was put up for sale at Comilla but there were no purchasers and finally the whole estate was sold in Calcutta in July 1804 to Hari Mohan Tagore. Pātikāra had been the last big pargana for which the permanent revenue was fixed and the first to come to the hammer.

115. Sarāil Pargana was in Mymensingh until 1831 and the Decennial Settlement was carried out by the Collector of that district. The twelve-anna twelve-ganda share was held *khās* during the year 1198 B.S., and the collections were satisfactory. Rupees 41,354 was realized in all. Deduction of Rs. 3,482 for lands in

† The word may be roughly translated "guardian".

which the *Zamindār* had the right to hold revenue-free, Rs. 6,257 for collection expenses, *Mālikāna* at 10 per cent. and a few smaller items reduced the amount to Rs. 28,866 net. The *sadar jama* for 1197 after the deduction on account of *sāir* stood at Rs. 21,377 and the Collector proposed to conclude the Decennial Settlement with the proprietor after an addition of Rs. 4,000. To this the Board agreed. The settlement left the proprietor about 28 per cent. of his realizations as profit and collection expenses exclusive of the land held in revenue-free right.

116. After the Permanent Settlement was concluded the total revenue of what are now the Tippera *parganas* was about Rs. 7,90,000 and it covered about 16,50,000 acres. The assessment was therefore about $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per acre on an average. It was a somewhat lower assessment than the average for the Bengal Presidency as it is now, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ annas per acre lower than in the Noakhali *parganas*.

CHAPTER III.

Revenue History subsequent to the Permanent Settlement.

117. The fiscal history of Bengal loses much of its interest after the main issue had been disposed of by the Permanent Settlement. The years following witnessed the struggle on the part of the landlords against the sale procedure adopted when they fell in arrears. It produced almost a panic at first. With the unbusinesslike character of their race the idea, that failure to pay their revenues as they became due might lose them their estates for ever, filled them with dismay. They much preferred the old system by which they were thrown into prison when they did not pay and stayed there till the revenue had been realized. At first it frequently happened that there were no bidders when an estate was put up for sale, and it was suspected that there was in some sort a combination among the landlords to resist the procedure. The provision of Regulation III of 1794, which had exempted the landlords from liability to imprisonment for arrears of revenue, was withdrawn by Regulation VII of 1799. It soon became apparent, however, that the landlords had not had sufficient initiative to combine. Purchasers were afraid that they would be unable to obtain possession of the estates of landlords who had defaulted, and that Government would not be strong enough to give the assistance they needed. In the course of a few decades, however, the sale procedure became automatic. The provision for imprisonment in cases of default, although it remained legal till 1841, was hardly ever resorted to.

118. The Collector of Tippera thought he saw signs of combination again when he had called upon all the landlords in the district by notices served upon them to file the information necessary for preparing the first "Quinquennial Registers," which were to describe the land covered by the assessment upon each estate. At first not one of them complied with the notice, and, in the face of what he considered to be a combination in which "upwards of four thousand persons are leagued together" to deny him the information he required, he asked the Board of Revenue to order a fine proportionate to the revenue of each estate to be imposed if the information was not forthcoming within a month. The behaviour of the landlords in this matter was in reality no more than the outcome of the same dilatory and unbusinesslike methods which were their habit. The Quinquennial Registers in Tippera were never completed. In these registers the columns intended to give names of all the "mauzas" in which the estate had land and those intended for the result of enquiries into *mufassil* realizations were often blank. Those for the results of enquiries into the condition of the land both cultivated and uncultivated were always blank. The registers contained no columns in which the area of any part of an estate was to be recorded. The papers filed by the landlords from which the registers were written, the "Quinquennial papers," are in a number of

different forms going by various names, and the information contained in them is arranged in so unbusinesslike a manner that one is tempted to imagine that they were intended to give as little information in as unintelligible a form and as large a bulk as possible. But this is not so. The Collector did not apparently prescribe the form in which the information was to be given, and the *zamindārs*, following the old method of accounting for their property which had been in use in the time of the Moghuls, thought they had done enough when they gave a statement of their total revenue distributed over the several parts of their estates in the manner of the old *taksim jama*. The *Tōhut Milāni* and *Ishimnavisi mauzawār*, the forms most frequently found among the Quinquennial papers, are no more than statements of a new *taksim jama*. There are no *Chauhaddibandi* papers for the Tippera estates to show by giving the four boundaries of each the manner in which the "mauzās" fitted together. The Quinquennial papers of Tippera are now of no value except as curiosities, and sometimes to show the existence of middle rights dating from the time when they were written.

119. The circumstances in which the district of Noakhali was carved out of Tippera at the end of the year 1821 have been described at length in the Final Settlement Report for Noakhali. Just before the separation was made, Daudpur *pargana* and shortly after, in 1831, Sarāil were transferred from Mymensingh. Since that time except for minor changes by which a few small estates along the Meghna were transferred to and from Dacca and Mymensingh the revenue jurisdiction of the Collector of Tippera has remained unchanged.

120. Additions to the land revenue since the Permanent Settlement have come about in three ways :—

- (1) By the resumption of invalid revenue-free grants.
- (2) By the formation of islands and accretions to estates on the banks of rivers and their assessments to revenue.
- (3) Through the engagements of the Permanent Settlement having been broken and estates having passed into Government's hands.

121. The resumption of *jaigir* began as early as the days of Sultān Suja and was almost complete before the Company obtained the grant of the Dewāni. The years before the Permanent Settlement saw the resumption of the last of it in the proceedings of Mr. Sykes who was specially employed on the resumption of *Nawāra** in the days of the Dacca Council. It was in the thirties of the last century that there was the greatest activity in resumption of invalid revenue-free grants in Tippera. The number of estates formed by these proceedings is 202. Almost all these resumptions took place in the years 1836-1839. The earliest was in 1832 and there appear to have been only five which were not completed by the end of 1841. Assessment to revenue was made part of the resumption proceeding. The highest revenue fixed for one of these resumed estates was Rs. 705-6-1. Nineteen were assessed at more than Rs. 100 while 70 were assessed at less than Rs. 10, and eight were so small that the assessment was less than one rupee. Two estates were resumed under the Collector of Dacca, and one under the Collector of Mymensingh and transferred to Tippera subsequently. The annual revenue assessed at these resumptions amounted in all to Rs. 7,983-13-6. From 1844 onwards the owners of these properties began to take settlements in perpetuity at the revenue assessed in resumption proceedings. They were required to pay no premium and the settlements were in almost every case complete by the end of 1846. The eight estates assessed at less than one rupee each were allowed to be redeemed about 1846 on payment of ten times the assessment. The Revenue Survey authorities found in the northern part of the district where they began work in 1860, a few unassessed properties which had not been the subject of resumption proceedings. These were shown in the *thāk* maps as *Betadārāki* (i.e., uninvestigated) *lākherāj*. The properties do not

* *Jaigir* appropriated to the maintenance of the Moghul fleet.

appear to have been the subject of subsequent investigations. They are not many and one of them at least originated without doubt in a grant from a Moghul Emperor.

122. Island formations in the beds of navigable rivers are the property of Government. The Collector takes possession

Diara resumptions. of them as soon as they form and they are treated as *khās mahāls*. Before the passing of Act IX of 1847 the resumption and assessment of accretions to private estates might legally be made at any time. In point of fact resumption proceedings were few, and there was no systematic attempt made at any time to ascertain what accretion to private estates had taken place. After the passing of Act IX of 1847 the Revenue Survey did not come for 14 years and no resumption proceedings could legally be taken until 10 years after it had been declared complete. In point of fact there have been only two *Diara* surveys, carried out under the Act since the Revenue Survey, that carried out by Babu Parbati Charan Ray who worked on the Meghna at the end of the seventies of last century, and that which has been recently completed by the Settlement officers of Dacca and Faridpur on the east bank of the Meghna opposite these two districts and Mymensingh. Besides island formations which are still *khās mahāls* there are alluvial formations which were subsequently permanently-settled and included in 54 estates in the Tippera Tauzi Roll the total annual revenue from which amounts to Rs. 17,766-11-10 as well as 105 temporarily-settled estates of which the revenue is Rs. 25,172-8-5.

123. The most remarkable feature of the fiscal history of Tippera since the Permanent Settlement is the fact that so large

Cases in which the engagements of the permanent settlement were broken.

an area has been purchased by Government at sales for arrears of revenue at which there were no bids higher than the amount of the arrear.

Besides smaller estates which have become the property of Government in this manner the following *zamindāris* came into Government's hands :—

<i>Pargana</i>	Baradākhāt	...	Two-thirds share in 1834 and 1835.
"	Gunānandi	...	All but a 2½ <i>gandas</i> share, 1827 to 1835.
"	Purchāndi	...	All but 4 annas of the <i>khalsa</i> , about 1836, 1864 and 1880.
"	Mehār	...	Share of 7½ annas in 1834-36.
"	Srichāil	...	Share nearly 2½ annas in 1833-34.
"	Tora	...	Share rather over 1½ annas in 1834.
"	Kardi	...	The whole in 1836.
"	Sakli	...	Share of nearly one-third between 1833-36.
"	Dallāi	...	All but 4½ <i>gandas</i> between 1834-37.
"	Singhergāon	...	Share nearly 4½ annas in 1834.

These estates accounted for a revenue of about Rs. 2,15,000, more than ¼th of the whole permanently-settled revenue of the district. It will be noticed that these purchases all took place about the same time. This was not altogether a coincidence. In the case of Baradākhāt it was the extravagance of the proprietors that worked their ruin, while in the south-west of the district there had undoubtedly been a great falling-off in its prosperity. The revenue administration of the district had by 1830 become very slack. None of the rigour of the Sale Procedure was being exercised. A new Collector, S. W. Alexander, posted to Tippera in 1834 complained at once of "the slovenly manner in which proceedings have hitherto been allowed to pass current in this office." All the clerks and especially the record-keeper he found hopelessly incompetent, but he would not dismiss the latter for "to turn him out would be to lose the little insight into the records which he and he alone possesses." One instance will suffice to show the manner in which the administration of the district was carried on. An order was passed on the 16th of April 1830 imposing a daily fine of Rs. 10 upon the Rāja of Tippera for non-attendance before the Collector's Court. No action was taken towards realizing this fine or compelling attendance until the 9th of

April 1834 when the fine order had stood for 1,455 days. Alexander in writing to the Commissioner on the subject said "never since I have had the honour of serving under Government have I seen a parallel to the continued disrespect and utter disregard of all orders which have been issued by Collectors as has been evinced by the defendant in the case under review." When an estate was put up for sale it was the custom to drop the sale proceeding and substitute a money penalty in its place. But even the payment of this penalty was not promptly enforced. In 1829-30 the collection from the Rāja of Tippera included Rs. 4,875-8-16 as interest on arrears and Rs. 5,368-4-13 as penalty, but there was still outstanding interest Rs. 119 and penalty Rs. 4,517-4-3 unpaid. When the Collector's opinion was asked upon the proposal of reducing the 6 *kists* current to 4 he wrote:—"In this district no *Zamindār* thinks of liquidating the revenue demand against him until his estate is advertised and very few come forward until a day or two previous to the date fixed for the sale of his estate, and I firmly believe that were the sales restricted to once a year during eleven months not 5 per cent. of the revenue would be paid into the treasury." It was Alexander who brought so many estates to sale and for many years to come the management of these purchased estates exercised most of the energies of his successors.

124. In the earliest days of British administration the authorities in Calcutta, inspired by the attitude of the Board of Directors, looked upon failure regularly to realize the revenue as the worst fault a Collector could commit. Those days, which were not very distant, had not been forgotten and much of their spirit still animated those at headquarters. The Collector must continue to show a regular realization of the revenue which had been fixed at the Permanent Settlement and would not be allowed to set off any large sum as collection expenses.

When the Baradākhāt estate was first purchased every effort was made to induce Khwāja Alimulla of Dacca who afterwards became Nawāb, to undertake the collection of rents. He was to be styled *Sarbarākar*, but so parsimonious were the authorities that he was only to be given 5 per cent. as his allowance and he refused. Next an effort was made to find someone who could give substantial security to undertake the management of the estate. But again Rs. 500 a month, the highest salary the Board of Revenue was prepared to pay, was not sufficient to tempt a person of sufficiently high standing and wealth. Ultimately such of the old *tālukdārs* who had held under the *zamindārs* as were willing to enter into engagements as middlemen, were allowed to continue to hold their property and the rest was divided into blocks and farmed. The policy of farming settlements was also adopted in the case of most of the other purchased estates to avoid the cost of *khās* management and still show good realization of revenue. When they were first purchased the Collector had no exact evidence of their extent or boundaries. The "Quinquennial papers" gave him very little useful information, and though he obtained some papers from the old proprietors the rent-rolls were always incomplete and other papers contained nothing from which the adequacy of the rents could be checked. The first farming settlements were generally made at a less revenue than that of the Permanent Settlement and the farmers would bid no more. It was at once realized that a survey was necessary, and in fact surveys were begun by Bruce, a Deputy Collector, as early as 1835. The Bengali method was employed. A *Chitha* was prepared and from it a rent-roll. Fresh farming leases were then completed on the basis of the figures which it contained. These surveys were not finished till about 1850. The estates were taken up one after another as the terms of the first farming leases expired. Except in Baradākhāt the first farms had been given without breaking the big estates up, and the farmers were such men as Ceurjon and Delauney of Comilla, Henry Rowe the Civil Surgeon, Baksha Ali Chaudhuri of Homnābād and Hāsān Ali Chaudhuri of Kānchanpur, who were strong enough to establish themselves without difficulty. But their methods called forth many complaints, and after the survey the largest of the purchased estates were divided into blocks which were farmed separately with others.

125. The framing settlements were admittedly unsatisfactory both from Government's and the agriculturalists' points of view. Direct collection from the cultivators had not been successful on the small scale on which it had been tried and such collection on a large scale was still a proposition too fearsome for Government to tackle. Moreover after an Imperial Government had replaced the old Company it was felt that such activity was not correctly within its scope. To make a proprietary temporary settlement of an estate to which the provisions of the Permanent Settlement regulation had once been applied would have been legally incorrect. During the decade 1860—70 it was the accepted policy to make fresh permanent settlements of Government's purchased estates, the proprietary right being sold again at auction. It appears now that the policy of alienating large tracts of Government property by settlements in perpetuity as late as 1860 was the very reverse of economical and involved a very large sacrifice of prospective revenue, but it was in view of the conditions just mentioned that the policy of the *dāimi* settlements, as permanent settlements concluded subsequent to those carried out under Regulation I of 1793 are called, was adopted. While Government estates were being settled in perpetuity, it was thought fit that such temporarily-settled private estates as were fully developed, should also be *dāimi* settled. The latter were settled without payment of any premium but Government estates whether island formations or properties which had been purchased at Revenue Sales were sold to the highest bidder. A sum was in each case fixed as revenue, and the bids at the auctions held were sums to be paid as premium.

126. Estates that had been purchased by Government and were *dāimi* settled were numerous and some of them very large. There appear to have been 188 altogether, but as several of them have since been partitioned the number of estates of this class now on the *Tauzi* Roll is considerably greater. The revenue fixed was the current rent paid by farmers intended to be 80 per cent. of the assets, and there appears to have been a reserve placed upon the premium for which bids were received at auction. This reserve was calculated at 20 years' purchase of the profits of the farmers according to the rent-roll upon which the farming leases had been concluded after a deduction for collection expenses. The bids in the cases in which *dāimi* settlement was concluded were usually far larger than this reserve. The following figures give *pargana* by *pargana* the result of the settlements :—

	Number of estates created.	Revenue.			Premium.
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.
In <i>Pargana</i> Baradākhāt ...	106*	1,22,052	4	6	10,44,364
In <i>Pargana</i> Dallāi ...	1	52,722	0	0	2,93,000
In <i>Pargana</i> Tora ...	10	4,368	15	4	50,208
In <i>Pargana</i> Mehār ...	2	585	1	8	6,500
In <i>Pargana</i> Sakdi ...	2	670	6	1	2,085
In <i>Pargana</i> Srichāil ...	1	516	8	3	13,125
In <i>Pargana</i> Maijardi ...	2	275	10	3	1,821
In <i>Pargana</i> Parchāndi ...	2	107	10	0	630
In <i>Pargana</i> Mahabbatpur ...	4	103	12	0	972
In <i>Pargana</i> Narāinpur ...	2	235	5	0	1,510
In <i>Pargana</i> Nayābād ...	1	189	13	1	2,000
In <i>Tappe</i> Farrukhābād ...	10	70	12	0	1,527
In <i>Pargana</i> Gunānandi ...	9	68	15	9	1,021
In <i>Pargana</i> Singhergāon ...	5	34	4	7	157.

At the same time the lands of the Company's old factory at Pater Hāt were settled in 2 estates with a revenue of Rs. 1,140-5-8 upon the payment of a premium of Rs. 5,300 and 12 scattered *khārīja tōluks* at a revenue of Rs. 471-7 with a premium which is not now to be discovered. There are 16 estates of this class which were transferred to Tippera from Dacca or

* The figures for revenue and premium of one of these has not been included. The purchaser agreed to pay 20 times the profit as premium.

Mymensingh after settlement in perpetuity. The remaining estates of this class are very small ones. They were settled in perpetuity as a special case as late as 1895. The settlement of most of the *dāimi* estates was concluded in 1863. It began as early as 1861 and all the large estates had been sold by the end of 1870.

127. Rather before the era of the *dāimi* settlements, in the year 1847 to be precise, Government's share in Mehār *Pargana* and in certain other estates was settled for 50 years. The revenue to be paid having been fixed upon the basis of the surveys that had been carried out, and auction sales were held. What was advertised for sale was the right of a temporarily-settled proprietor the first period of whose settlement was to be 50 years. In 1897 when the term was about to expire survey operations were commenced with a view to revision of the revenue. The proprietors objected claiming that their revenue was settled in perpetuity. It was legally incorrect to make a temporary proprietary settlement of land to which the Permanent Settlement Regulation had been applied, but there is no doubt whatsoever what were the intentions of all parties in the transactions of 1847. The purchasers understood perfectly that they were taking settlement at a revenue which would be revised after 50 years, as is shown both by the records of the sales and by the contrast between the premium bid and paid in these sales and those for the avowedly permanent settlements of a few years later. In Mehār the proprietary rights in 18 estates with revenue fixed at Rs. 11,179-9-6 were sold at a premium amounting to Rs. 18,685 in all which is only 1·67 times the revenue. The revenue was not proportionately higher than in the Baradākhāt estates where the average premium was 9 times, and was assessed in exactly the same manner. Two estates of Mehār were *dāimi* settled in 1861 on the same assessment at a revenue of Rs. 585-1-8 and the premium paid was Rs. 6,500, eleven times the revenue. This contrast was not pointed out when the case of these estates was placed before Government in 1898 and orders* were passed putting a stop to the proceedings for reassessment. The estates of other *parganas* besides Mehār which form analogous cases were settled in 1847 as follows :—

				Revenue.	Premium.
				Rs. A. P.	Rs.
In <i>parganas</i>	Sakdi	...	...	3,183 9 7	10,595
Ditto	Kardi	...	...	809 4 4	4,240
Ditto	Mahabbatpur	...	...	975 8 10	3,465

The conclusion reached by Government in 1898 in the case of Mehār and applied also to the analogous cases was probably inevitable, but the sacrifice of revenue involved was no smaller matter. Considerations of equity were all on Government's side.

128. Before the *dāimi* settlements in Tippera are condemned as the outcome of a mistaken policy not only must the difficulty of *khōs* management half a century ago and the unsatisfactory nature of farming settlements, the only alternative, be remembered, but the amount of the premium must be taken into consideration. It is true that the proprietor of Dallāi now has as much profit as the amount of revenue he pays, but he had a very much smaller one at first and the premium he paid as long ago as 1870 was as much as five years purchase of his profits today. The result of the transactions by which Government purchased so many estates, held them for a time and then sold them again, was that the revenue of the district was increased by half a *lakh* of rupees and lump sums amounting to Rs. 14,62,000 were paid into the treasury. Had Mehār and the estates whose case is analogous been regularly settled in perpetuity almost another *lakh* might have been added to this sum.

129. Not all Government and temporarily-settled estates then in existence were *dāimi* settled. Many large and important ones survived the decade from 1861 to 1871 when to make such settlements was the Government estates which were not *dāimi* settled.

* Government order No. 983, dated 7th March 1898.

accepted policy. Estates survived, some because they were not yet fully developed and some because no one was found ready to put up the required premium. Among the former were the large estates in *parganas* Gunānandi, Purchāndi and Singhergāon in the south-west of the district which were then only partially cultivated, and a number of new formations up and down the Meghna. Among the latter were numerous blocks of Baradākhāt. These are the Baradākhāt *khās mahāls* of today. Further description of estates of either classes is not necessary at this place. Most of them came up for revision of revenue at the hands of the Settlement Department and will be found described in Part III, Chapter II of this report. The rest have been described by the Settlement Officers of Faridpur and Dacca who dealt with them during the Diara Survey of the Meghna.

130. An outstanding feature of the later revenue history of Tippera has been the large number of proceedings for the partition of estates, especially estates lying in *thanas* of Nabinagar, Murādnagar and Dāudkāndi. In this particular there is a striking contrast between Tippera and Noakhali where there had been no such proceedings from the time it became a district till a few years ago, and the number during the last few years has been small and has affected only a small area.

131. The account of the Revenue History of the district cannot be closed without mention of the fact that twice since 1860 the numbers by which estates are distinguished on the *tauzi* roll have been changed. As no conversion tables were prepared or preserved showing the new numbers against the old and *vice versa*, this piece of folly, for it is impossible to describe what was done otherwise, has rendered the *thāk* maps and all the registers based on the *thāk* and Revenue Surveys unintelligible. If there is one thing in the collectorate which should have been kept sacred and inviolate, it is the serial of the *tauzi* roll. As a preliminary to the Settlement Operations in the district it was necessary laboriously to prepare such conversion tables and have them printed. They have been reprinted in Appendix V of this report.

132. The following statement of the land revenue of the estates now paying their dues into Comilla Treasury gives a *précis* of the Revenue History of the district :—

Date.		Revenue.		
		Rs.		
1589	59,332	<i>Khālśa</i> only. The <i>jāigir</i> revenue of this the 1st Moghul assessment is not known.
1722	4,35,000	<i>Khālśa</i> Rs. 2,83,000; <i>Jaigir</i> Rs. 1,52,000; the 3rd Moghul assessment.
1765	11,10,000	According to James Grant's figures.
1795	7,80,000	The revenue of the Permanent Settlement.
1850-51	9,41,936	" <i>Sicca</i> " converted to Company's rupees; <i>idkherāj</i> resumptions complete; and farming settlements of the purchased estates made.
1870-71	9,91,333	The <i>daimi</i> settlements complete.
1900-01	10,58,425	
Present day	11,55,750	The approximate revenue when the reassessment of temporarily-settled areas dealt with in the District Settlement Operations shall have come into effect.

CHAPTER IV.

History and resultant tenure system in each pargana.

133. During the earlier part of the period of the rule of the Muhammadans in Bengal they had to face frequent incursions from the Arracanese. The Rājā of Tippera was not effectually brought into subjection, and was ready to throw in his lot with either party as he thought best. *Zamindārs* in the centre of

Bengal, free from the danger of intrusion from outside spent their time in petty quarrels among themselves and in snatching land as they could from one another. The *zamindārs* east of the Meghna who were loyal to the Muhammadan power on the other hand had to be ready to unite at any time to repel a common foe. The *parganas* had been formed later than those west of the Meghna and the constant distractions from internecine strife among their proprietors which their position on the borders of the Province afforded helped to stop them from becoming disintegrated or scattered. In Tippera it is only along the bank of the Meghna that *parganas* are found interlocking or divided into small parcels as those are which were always within shelter of the Moghul power, for instance in Dacca or Faridpur districts. Along the Meghna the Moghul fleet was of sufficient strength to go unchallenged, and close to the river the *pargana* system follows the likeness of Dacca. But inland the Tippera *pargana* are large compact blocks as in Noakhali. The geography of the *parganas* is illustrated by the map to be found in Appendix II to this report. The limitations imposed by the expense of reproduction in colours made it impossible to distinguish every *pargana* separately, but in this map the largest *parganas* are shown singly and when more than one is shown in the same way, they are *parganas* closely allied historically and in the characteristics of the tenure systems now existing in them.

134. The Muhammadans when they first came into Bengal found the Rājā of Tippera the paramount chief on the eastern side of the Meghna. His power only diminished towards the end of the 17th century. He had acknowledged the suzerainty of the earlier Moghuls and his property had been assessed to revenue although only lightly. In the 18th century the assessment was a full one and covered the hills as well as his remaining property, Chakla Roshnābād, in the plains. It was only in 1782 that assessment on the hills was withdrawn while at the same time the Rājā for his mismanagement was excluded from the settlement of his lands in the plains which were settled in parcels with *tālukdārs*. He was only readmitted to settlement of Chakla Roshnābād at the time of the Decennial Settlement. Chakla Roshnābād was not included in the District Settlement Operations. For that reason and because its history is described in full in Mr. Cumming's report of the settlement of the Chakla conducted by him between 1894 and 1898 no attempt will be made further to describe it here.

135. The Rājā's dominions in the plains at one time included Sarāil, Baradākhāt, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra *parganas* as well as Chakla Roshnābād. How and when the *parganas* which passed from the Rājās of Tippera. they were lost to him cannot be found. The Rājāmālā, the chronicles of the Rājās, is the only reliable source of historical evidence, and like other chronicles of the East is devoted rather to the glorification of the rulers at whose orders it was written than faithful to describe their losses as well as their victories. The Rājās were too strong easily to be brought into subjection and according to tradition dissensions in their family account for the dismemberment of their domain. It is said that one Nāyan Thākur after an abortive attempt to reach the throne betook himself to Delhi, turned Muhammadan and obtained from the Emperor a grant of what is now Baradākhāt, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra *parganas* in which he was able to establish himself. The Mirzā family who owned Baradākhāt, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra until the beginning of last century are according to the same tradition said to be descended from Nāyan Thākur through his granddaughter. According to another tradition it was the famous Ishā Khān, Viceroy at Sonārgāon, who by some means or other was able to establish his hold on all four of these big *parganas* and retain them as his own property. It is possible that the truth is that a family descended from the Tippera Kings and turned Muhammadan, became united by marriage with the family of Ishā Khān, and that both traditions are accounted for in this way. Baradākhāt, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra were held by Dewān Hazrat Muhammad Khān in the reign of Aurangzeb. They passed later to Akā Sādek who married the heiress of his family and had three sons, Mirza Muhammad

Ibrāhim who took Baradākhāt as his share, Mirza Abdul Hussein who took Pātikāra and Mirza Muhamed Jāfar who took Gangāmandal. These three brothers are mentioned by James Grant as the holders of the *parganas* in 1758. Sarāil belonged to an altogether separate family descended from Ishā Khān. Of these four great Muhammādan *zaminḍāris* three have passed to the families of Hindus who were no more than clerks employed in the early days in the British Administration and shrewd enough to take full advantage of their opportunities. All three families have consistently remained absentee landlords taking no further interest in their estates than to get as much out of them as possible. The property of two out of the three is now under the Court of Wards, that of the third has been in the hands of the Receiver of the High Court for more than three-quarters of a century. The fourth Baradākhāt has been broken up. Part is *khās mahāl* and the major portion of the rest belongs to the Nawab of Dacca.

136. Baradākhāt *pargana* which fell to the share of Mirza Muhammad Ibrāhim was in Moghul times one of the *nawāra parganas*. The bulk of its revenue was *jāigir* devoted to the maintenance of the fleet of boats organized with such effect by Shāista Khān that he was able with its aid to maintain effective dominion over the whole of Eastern Bengal. Mirza Muhammad Ibrāhim had no son. His property was left in equal shares to his three daughters Azizannessa who married Mir Asraf Ali, Roshanāra who married Mirza Muhammad Bākar and a third who married Mirza Hāssan Ali. The work of David Paterson who held the *pargana khās* after Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim's death has already been mentioned. Roshanāra quarrelled with her husband who left his home and went with his son to Patna. The boy Mirza Muhammad Kāsim married there and returned when his father died to find that his mother had had to sell all but a share of ১১/১১† which he inherited. This is now the estate bearing *Tauzi* No. 26. This share and the five other shares which had been sold were separated by partition. A one-anna share, now estate No. 25, went to Mahesh Ray of Syāmgrām who sold it to Mr. Courjon of Comilla and it was afterwards purchased by the Nawāb of Dacca at a revenue sale. Another one-anna share, now estate No. 309, went to Mir Asraf Ali and afterwards half to Kwāje Abdul Aziz and half to Kwāje Alimulla who became Nawāb of Dacca on his father's death. A ১১/১১ share, now estate No. 24, was purchased in part by Dhān Bibi, mother-in-law of the Nawāb Abdul Gani of Dacca, and the rest came to him by purchase later. A ১১/১১ share, now estate No. 23, was purchased by Roshanāra's servant Sita Rām Poddār, the ancestor of the Chaudhuris of Nabinagar, who hold it still. ১১/১১ went to Amiruddin Dāroga of Dacca and his son Golām Moulla. The remaining shares of five *gandas*, now estate No. 21, and three *karas* now estate No. 20, which have also passed to the family of the Nawab of Dacca make up the whole of Roshanāra's original one-third share.

Hāsan Ali, who was something of an ascetic and devotee, and worshipper of the Hindu Goddess Kālī according to the fashion of the days before there was any revivalist movement among the Muhammadans in these parts, gave half his share to Mir Asraf Ali who thus obtained eight annas of the whole *pargānā*. This eight annas share was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased by Government on 19th January 1835 and the remainder of Mirza Hāsan Ali's share was similarly purchased at 5th May 1836.

The Collector and the Commissioner seem to have been very much afraid of the responsibility of their big purchase. They first attempted to persuade Khwāje Alimulla of Dacca to take it as *Sarbārakār*, but as only 5 per cent. was to be allowed him he refused. The old *zaminḍārs* papers showed that nearly half the total of the rent-roll was made up by the dues of *tālukḍārs* (middlemen). Afraid that arrears would accumulate before a suitable form of management would be established the Collector then suggested* "the expediency of my calling immediately on all the *tālukḍārs* to pay direct into my treasury the arrears due from their several *tālüks*.....they should in no ways be recognised as *tālukḍārs* but under the style of *Zimmaḥḍārs* holding such and such a

† Where such shares as these which are complicated are mentioned the Bengali notation is used.

* Collector to Commissioner, 27th March 1835.

mukhāl in trust on account of Government." He at once called upon all the *tālukdārs* to file copies of the deeds by which their *tālukuks* had been created. Four hundred and seventy-one were filed bearing a rental amounting to Rs. 67,455; and showing that *sālāmi* (*premia* paid on settlement) had been paid to the extent of Rs. 2,98,997. A few of these were deeds for *tālukuks* of the second grade, but 90 per cent. of this rental had been paid direct to the proprietors. The *tālukdārs* had much to lose if their *tālukuks* were annulled and put every difficulty in the way of collection of rents. Ultimately 21 *tālukuks* bearing a rental of Rs. 2,300, the only ones found to have been in existence before the Decennial Settlement, were recognised as *tālukuks* of which the rent was fixed in perpetuity; the villages in which there had been no *tālukuks* were let in farm in 33 blocks; and in the rest the *tālukdārs* were offered settlement as permanent middlemen whose rent was not however fixed in perpetuity. For the first period the rent they were each to pay was to be one-third more than they had paid to the old proprietors. Most of the *tālukdārs* agreed to these terms at once but some did not, and the Collector attempted to hold their villages *khās*. In many instances the *tālukdārs* gave way after a few years and after some of them had brought suits to establish the same rights as they had had under the old proprietors and failed. When they gave way as many did in 1841 they were admitted to hold on the terms of the Government's original offer. The settlements were revised from time to time until the era of *dāimi* settlements, when all the *joārs* (as the divisions of the *pargana* usually containing two or three villages each are called), which did not hold *tālukdārs* and many of those which did, were sold after the revenue had been fixed to the bidder of the highest premium. The bulk of the two-thirds share of the *pargana*, 25 *joārs* was purchased by the Nawāb of Dacca. In some others the purchasers were the old *tālukdārs* or some of them and in others local men. The *tālukdārs* offered violent resistance to outside purchasers. Even the Nawāb of Dacca had to compound with some of them and grant them fresh *patni* leases. Often the purchasers had to sell again to some of the *tālukdārs* who were opposed to them, or to call in a powerful man like the Nawāb of Dacca and give him a *patni* right. In some cases as will be described later the fight is going on still. Some *joārs* found no purchasers. The *tālukdārs* although they were too strong for an outside purchaser to face, had not enough money to purchase, or, quarrelling among themselves, were not able to combine to do so. These *joārs* remained unsold and the proprietary right in them belongs to Government still. The account of the recent settlements of land revenue in them will be found in Part III, Chapter II of this report.

The level of rents in the permanently-settled estates is comparatively high. The incidence of rent of occupancy *raiyats* in a few of the largest estates is as follows:—

				Rs. A. P.			
In estate No. 20	...	...	...	5	4	11	per acre.
" " 21	...	...	...	5	4	3	"
" " 23	...	...	...	4	4	5	"
" " 24	...	...	...	3	13	10	"
" " 25	...	...	...	4	6	8	"
" " 26	...	...	...	3	3	10	"

137. *Pargana* Gangāmandal fell to the share of Mirza Muhammad

Jāfar when his father Akā Sādek died. He managed, in collusion it is said with the Rājā's

Nail about 1763, to wrest *Pargana* Lohāgar from Roshnābād and add it to his own property calling it Jāfarābād. He was almost as influential a person as his eldest brother Mirza Muhammad Ibrāhim, but like him he left no male issue. After his death the estate seems to have been sold to one Rām Prasād Rāy, but the agents of the old family collected as much as they could of the rent in advance and decamped. Gangāmandal was held *khās* by David Paterson who in 1787 surveyed all of it except Habili Muhammadpur across the Meghna in Dacca and prepared a rent-roll. In 1790 it was purchased by Rām Ratan Thakur of Calcutta, who sold it the next year to Rājā Naba

Krishna Deb who had been Lord Clive's Dewān. His son Rājā Rāj Krishna left eight sons who were minors and dissensions began. The executors quarrelled and a partition suit was instituted which has not been disposed of yet. The property passed into the hands of the Official Receiver on the 16th of September 1836 and is in his hands still. The first receiver adopted the system of letting the estate in farm for three years at a time. It was so leased to the highest bidder every three years till 1896 when Rājā Binay Krishna Deb, one of the proprietors, took a lease in his own name. It was twice renewed. In 1914 Kumār Dharendra Krishna Deb took it for six years and the principle seems now to be established that it shall be always leased to one of the cosharer proprietors. The evils of the system of management and their results will be found described in paragraph 265 below. The Gangāmandal estate bearing *tauzi* No. 59 includes besides Gangāmandal proper, *parganas* Singhāir, Manaharpur, Lohārgar and Sarippur and contains divisions called *joārs* such as *joār* Rāmchandrapur, *joār* Goāgāchia, *joār* Rohitpur, *joār* Sibpur, etc. Only one of these in Tippera, *joār* Kālipura Bāhirchar, was separated and now bears *tauzi* No. 39. The average rent paid by the occupancy *raiyyats* in estate No. 59 is Rs. 2-13 per acre, in estate No. 39 Re. 1-12-6 only.

138. Pātikāra *pargana* remained in the hands of Mirza Abdul Hussein until the Quinquennial Settlement which was taken by a speculator from Calcutta Rāmji Māl by name. At the end of the term Akā Nabi, son of Mirza Abdul Hussein, took settlement, his father having died within the five years. Akā Nabi died in 1786, leaving a minor brother, Mirzā Jān, his heir. The estate was held *khās* for some period, and Mirza Muhammad Bākar of Baradākhāt acting as *Sarbarākār* on behalf of the minor signed a *tāhud* (agreement) for the year 1199 B. S., for settlement for eight years from 1199 B. S.,

ERRATUM.

3. In the 8th line from the bottom on page 75, paragraph 138. for the words "Raja Satya Saran" read "Raja Satya Charan."

[Gratis.]
Mohan Thākur. His grandchildren being in debt sold to Prasanna Kumār Thākur in 1840 who sold it in turn to Dwāraka Nāth Thākur in 1843. In 1848 it was sold again and purchased by Rājā Satya Charan Ghoshāl of the Bhukailās family founded by Jay Narāian Ghoshāl who had been the assistant of John Shakespeare of the Company's Covenanted Service from 1768 to 1781 first in Calcutta, then in Jessore and finally in Dacca where he went as President of the Provincial Council. Rājā Satya Charan was one of Jay Narāian's grandsons. The family has large property in Calcutta as well as in Bakarganj, Dacca, Khulna, Midnapur and the 24-Parganas.

The Thākurs had been in the habit of letting the *pargana* in farm and it was so held by Mr. Delauney of Comilla when it was sold to Bhukailās Rāj family. He refused to take a fresh settlement and the property was farmed in small blocks. By 1856 when Rājā Satya Charan died, extravagance had begun to make the family feel the need of ready money and in 1858 Rājā Satya Saran granted *tālukdārī* rights at fixed rents covering whole villages. He added 3 pice per rupee to the current rent of each village and gave the settlement to the person who bid the highest *premium*. In this way *tāluks* were created which brought in a revenue of Rs. 82,339, thus ensuring the payment of the revenue Rs. 65,067, and nearly a *lakh* and a half of rupees was realized in *premia*. The villages which were not settled with *tālukdārs* were surveyed and the rent of *raiyyats* fixed on the basis of the survey. As the result of quarrels between the heirs after the death of Rājā Satya Saran who left no children a partition suit was instituted in 1871, and the estate was in the hands of Receivers who were frequently changed until 1901 when the suit was at last disposed of. *Pargana* Pātikāra fell to the share of the five sons of Rājā Satya Saran. The suit and the extravagance of the family had thrown them heavily into debt. The Receivers had had recourse to the practice of letting the property in farm and the affairs of the estate were in the utmost confusion. After a short attempt to manage it themselves the heirs applied to

have it taken over by the Court of Wards, which was done in 1904. To set the estate in order a record-of-rights was prepared in 1905-06 for the villages covering 33 square miles which Rājā Satya Saran had not settled with *tālukdārs*. It made the satisfactory collection of rent possible. Although the estate is a very valuable one it is still under the Court and it will be some years yet before the enormous debts of family are cleared off. The revenue as permanently settled in 1801 covered not only the original Pātikāra *pargana* but most of Tappe Rāmchandrapur which was a derivative of Bhulua *pargana* in Noakhali, the small *pargana* Yusafpur, Khalilābād and two other little blocks. The estate now bears *tauzi* No. 208. The average rent paid by occupancy *rai-yats*, which was raised considerably in the disposal of applications under section 105 of the Tenancy Act at the time of the preparation of the record-of-rights for the *khās* villages, is now as high as Rs. 4-2-3 per acre which is Re. 1 above the average for the whole district.

139. About the time of Ishā Khān Sarāil *pargana* passed into the hands of the Dewān family, the first *Zamindār* Majlis Gāzi being of Ishā Khān's family. A picturesque story is told how Nazir Muhammad, son of the 3rd Dewan of the line obtained a number of villages east of the Titās from Dharma Manikya the Rājā of Tippera but it is not history. Throughout the days of the Moghul Governors of Sonārgāon it was one of the *Nawāra mahāls*, a large portion of its revenue being *jāigir* devoted to the upkeep of the fleet which maintained the Moghul dominion up and down the great rivers and engaged in the long struggle for Chittagong. The *pargana* was part of Chakla Sylhet until sometime after 1722. The 7th Dewān in descent from Majlis Gāzi had two sons Dewān Nazamuddin and Dewān Baksha Ali who inherited 9 annas and 7 annas of the *pargana* respectively. Dewān Nazamuddin had two sons Jāfar Ali who received 5½ annas and Sultān Muhammad who received 3½ annas. Muhammad Hadi whose name appears in James Grant's table from which a selection has been reproduced in paragraph 93 of this report, was the son of Sultān Māhamud. His grandson had two sons and the 3½ annas share of the *pargana* was in 1841 divided between them, one Dewān Manahar Ali getting ¾ and the other Dewān Emdād Ali getting ¼. The 7 annas share of the *pargana* became the estate bearing *tauzi* No. 2040, the 5½ annas share estate No. 2041 and the 3½ annas share estate No. 262. The *jāigir* revenue under the Moghuls was devoted to the maintenance of 40 *kosk* boats for the fleet, and even to the middle of last century the three shares of the *pargana* were known as the 17 *koska* share, the 14 *koska* share and the 8 *koska* share.

The revenue of the Permanent Settlement was a somewhat heavy assessment and as early as 1802 the 5½ annas share was sold for arrears of revenue and bought by Jagabandhu Rāy of Kāsimbāzār, who was *Seristadar* of the Mymensingh Collectorate at the time, in the name of a *Muktear* named Jugi Rām Chaudhuri at a very low price. Sarāil *pargana* was at that time under Mymensingh Collectorate. Three years later it was transferred to the name "Rām Jay Rāy, Rām and Jay being the names of Jagabandhu's two sons. In 1814 the *Zamindārs* sued to set aside the sale as fraudulent. They were successful before the Judge of Mymensingh but the decision was reversed by the *Sadar Dewāni Adālat* on appeal in 1818. In 1831 the *pargana* was transferred to Tippera and in 1836 the 7-annas share was put up for sale and purchased by Narasingha Rāy, Jagabandhu's grandson. In 1856 Emdād Ali's quarter of the 3½-annas share was sold in execution of a civil court decree for the *kābin* (dowry) due to his wife. It was purchased by Nasaruddin, a pleader of the Judge's Court at Comilla, who afterwards sold to Medini Mohan Bardhan and others. In 1885 the Manahar Ali's three-quarters was sold in execution of a similar decree and purchased by the Court of Wards on behalf of the minor heir of the Kāsimbāzār estate. The whole *pargana* therefore except a share of 17 gandas and a few *khārīja tāluks* now belongs to the Kāsimbāzār family. Its property was under the Court of Wards from 1866 to 1869 during the minority of Annada Prasad Rāy. When he died in 1884 his son, Asutosh Rāy, was a minor. There was a survey and record-of-rights prepared between 1890 and 1893 and the estate came again under the Court of Wards on the death of the Rājā Asutosh Rāy in 1909. Estates 2040 and 2041 have recently been amalgamated so that one estate now covers 12½ annas of

the whole *pargana*. There are 30 resumed *lākherāj* properties, one fishery estate, two *diāra mahāls* and 14 *khārīja tāluks* in the *pargana*. All these estates are small, the most important being *tāluk* Bil Safa No. 366 and *tāluk* Niz Sarāil No. 508.

Descendants of the old Dewān family still live in the *pargana* in genteel poverty. Several of them receive small pensions from the family that has supplanted them. They were ostentatious but open handed men in the days of the family's prime. They made liberal grants to priests of their own religion called "*Imāmnazar*" and "*Khādi*" from the terms of which it seems that some of them may have been Shiāhs, and granted "*brahmattars*," and "*debattars*" to Hindu priests also. To their tenants they gave settlements in perpetuity at low rentals called "*khoshbās*," sometimes in exchange for service, sometimes even on receiving so small a present as a dog which pleased them. They were great hunters and introduced into the country a breed of long dogs which crossed with the indigenous species have given the big powerful race of pie-dogs which are found all over Brāhmanbāria subdivision. They built houses and mosques of which the oldest specimen is at Sarāil and bears the inscription of the confession of faith followed by the words which in English run "In the reign of the Bādshāh Aurangzeb, known as Alamgir, by the Grace of God, this mosque was built by the wife of Nur Muhaminad, son of Majlis Shāhabāj in the auspicious month of Ramjān in the year 1080 of the Flight." Majlis Shāhabāj was the son of Majlis Gāzi, the first Dewān. The date of the inscription is 1670 A.D. The finest memorial of the family is the embankment from Sarāil to Shāhabāzpur with the ruins of the great bridge half way along it.

The Kāsimbāzar family have proved their very unworthy successors. They obtained their first acquisition in the estate by means which must be looked upon as doubtful. They have since been absentee landlords always, taking their rents from the property and otherwise showing no interest in it beyond making allowances to help certain schools. Their plan used to be to lease it out in small farms and before the settlement of 1890 the rent-roll was in great confusion. They created very few large permanent middle rights for they were always well off and had not the need for ready money to tempt them to create them for the sake of the *sālāmi* which they would receive. There are large middle rights in the *pargana* only in estate No. 262 especially in the share that belonged to Manahar Ali after 1841. He created a number of *patni* rights at comparatively low rentals for the sake of obtaining *sālāmi*. In one case in 1861 he settled 152 *drons* in mauzās Matīāl, Gutma, etc., in *patni* at a rental of Rs. 454-6 receiving a *sālāmi* of Rs. 3,960. The average rent paid by occupancy *raiyyats* in estate No. 2040 (the Wards' Estate) is Rs. 2-6-8 per acre, that in estate No. 262 Rs. 2-11-9.

140. Fifty-six *khārīja tāluks* situated close to Brāhmanbāria are now called *pargana* Satrakandal, which is a name formerly sometimes used for Sarāil.

141. Homnābād *pargana* was originally the property of a *kayastha* family. How they lost it is not known, but in 1725 it was given by the Emperor Shāh Alum to

Mirza Humāyan Khān, son of his General Jahāngir Shāh, who in 1716 came to these parts and secured for his master the allegiance of Ratan Manikya II. Rājā of Tippera. The *pargana* was named Homnābād which is a corruption of Humāyanābād after its first Muhammadan *zamīndār* and the more part of it remains in his family to this day. The last sole owner was Gāzi Shāh who lived about 1760 and left one son and two grandsons by another. The son Nasarat Gāzi obtained a share of only 1/11* now estates 83-93, 95, 549-551, 2033, 2035, and 2036. One of the grandsons Alā Baksha left two sons, Rahamat Gāzi and Manahar Gāzi and a daughter Fedāi Bibi, and the other, Daulat Gāzi, one son Jāfar Gāzi. At the Permanent Settlement Jāfar Gāzi was in possession of 2/3 of an anna only (now estate 96), Bānnu Bibi granddaughter of Fedāi Bibi 1/11* now estates 94, 97-99, 2034, 2037, and 2038, Manahar Gāzi 1/11* estate No. 100 and Rahamat Gāzi 1/11* estate No. 315. Jāfar Gāzi's son Imām Baksha who lived at Bhaukshār brought a suit against

* The Bengali notation again used for complicated shares.

Bānnu Bibi in the Sadar Dewāni Adālat in 1796 and got a decree for a share of ۱۷۷ old now estates 98 and 99. Bānnu Bibi was twice married. By her first husband she had one son Hussein Ali Chaudhuri who married Māymuna Bibi, grand-daughter and sole heiress of Manahar Gāzi, and by her second husband a son Baksha Ali and a daughter Māya Bibi. Bānnu Bibi gave her property to her two sons during her lifetime retaining a share of ۷۷/۸ which passed one *ganda* to Baksha Ali and the rest now estate No. 94 to Māya Bibi when she died. Māya Bibi's property was the first to be sold out of the family. It now belongs to Mahes Chandra Rāy of Bāgmāra. Asraf Ali one of Hussein Ali's two sons married Arfānnessa, Baksha Ali's only child but died without issue. Ahamad Ali his other son gave the widow a share of 10 *gandas*, now estate 2037, keeping one anna, now estate No. 97, for himself. Arfānnessa whose share was ۱۵۵, now estates 2038 and 2034, married again and her grandson is the present Nawāb of Comilla, Syed Hussein Haidar Chaudhuri. The share which belonged to Manahar Gāzi at the time of the Permanent Settlement had passed to Ahamad Ali Chaudhuri through his mother. The share of Rahamat Gāzi ۲۶, now estate 315, was sold for arrears of revenue in 1839 and purchased by Mr. Delauney of Comilla. It now belongs to his grandson Mr. P. J. Delauney, the Courjon estate, Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri, etc. of Lāksām and Surendra Nāth Rāy Chaudhuri, etc. of Bhagyākul. A partition of the whole *pargana* took place in 1852 when land was set apart for each estate then existing and so recorded at the time of the *thāk* ten years later.

The share of Imām Gāzi of Bhaukshār passed to his son and then to his grandsons. Muhammad Gāzi Chaudhuri the eldest of the three purchased the 7 *gandas* share, now estate No. 95, from the descendants of Nasarat Gāzi and added it to his own. His first wife gave him no issue and he married again Fāizannessa, the masterful daughter of Ahamad Gāzi Chaudhuri of the other most important branch of the Homnābād family. Ahamad Gāzi had two sons, Yākub Ali, father of the present Secundar Ali Chaudhuri, and Yusuf Ali, father of the present Nawāb Muhammad Ali Nawāb and two daughters Fāizannessa and Latifannessa. When he died his widow retained 2 annas of his property, his children divided the remaining 14 annas, and there was an amicable partition between the mother and the children. Fāizannessa purchased the share of Latifannessa who died before her mother. The shares which the three surviving children obtained when their mother died are those called the "Mādari" shares, those which they had obtained on the death of their father being called the "Pedāri" shares. Fāizannessa was a very capable woman who managed her own property and proved herself more than a match for her husband. She is said to have compelled him to agree to surrender all his property to her in view of the stipulated dower of a *lakh* of rupees. She was offered by Government the title of Begum but would not accept it as she wanted the masculine title of Nawāb. This was ultimately given to her. Of Muhammad Gāzi's property Fāizannessa got a 9 annas share of estates Nos. 85, 92, and 551, 10 annas of estates 95 and 96, 8 annas of estate No. 98 and 3½ annas of estate No. 99. Nazamannessa his first wife owned 1 anna of estates Nos. 85, 92, and 551 and 8 annas of estate No. 98. She had no children and made half of her property a *wakf*, appointing as *mutāwalli* Syeda Amātul Elia Rezia Khātun, grand-daughter of Fāizannessa's first daughter Ayesha. Muzaffar Gāzi, son of Muhammad Gāzi's brother Bākhar Gāzi, and father of Azizannessa who has married Syed Emdadal Hak, got 5 annas of estates 85, 92, 96 and 551 and 12½ annas of estate 99. His share in estate No. 99 he subsequently sold to Badarannessa, Fāizannessa's daughter, who inherited all her mother's property and is the largest shareholder in the *pargana*. She takes after her mother, has always managed her own property and done so in a very capable manner. She is now growing old and her second son, a man much dreaded by the tenants, has begun to take her place. Both she and her mother ruled their estates with an iron hand. It is not often that a Muhammadan lady with all the disadvantages to which custom puts her is able to make such a name for herself as the "Nawāb Fāizannessa" did. It is still more remarkable that two women—mother and daughter—should show the same capacity when other branches of the family are showing signs of decadence.

So much of the very complicated history of Homnābād has been given to show that through all the changes that have taken place the old family has been able to keep most of the *pargana* in its own possession, but the shares, which were separated by the partitions in 1852 and subsequently, now no longer represent the property of separate branches of the family. The same proprietors re-appear in many different estates.

Middle rights are few in all but the $\frac{1}{2}$ share bearing *tauzi* No. 315, and the general level of *raiṇati* rents is higher than in any other *pargana* in Tippera except Baradākhāt. The average incidence of the rents paid by occupancy *raiṇats* in the several estates is as follows :—

		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
$\frac{1}{9}$ share, estates Nos. 83-93	...	3 7 6 to 4 8 3	per acre
estate No. 95	...	4 2 9	"
estates Nos. 549-557	...	4 2 10 to 4 11 10	"
estates „ 2033-2035-6	...	3 10 6 „ 3 14 6	"
$\frac{1}{2}$ share, estate No. 96	...	3 9 0	per acre.
$\frac{1}{16}$ share, estate „ 97	...	4 8 6	"
estate „ 98	...	3 9 2	"
estate „ 99	...	3 7 2	"
estate „ 2034	...	3 1 3	"
estate „ 2037	...	4 9 2	"
estate „ 2038	...	4 4 9	"
$\frac{1}{4}$ share, estate „ 100	...	4 2 10	"
$\frac{1}{2}$ share, estate „ 315	...	4 4 3	"

The allotment of land by partition among the different estates was made often in very small parcels, so that the estates are interlocked in a most complicated manner. Variations in the average rent paid are due to enhancements made within the last 50 years by various proprietors, but the variations are not apparent in the figures given above on account of the fact that the proprietors more often dealt with their shares of the rent in several estates rather than with whole estates belonging to them. Rents in the properties that belonged to Muhammad Gāzi Chaudhuri remained lower than would have otherwise been the case on account of the fact that he let out much of his property in farms for a period of 50 years. The *ijāradārs*, when in the year 1318 B.S. the term came to an end, refused to quit. They claimed that the leases had been made in perpetuity and in some cases the landlords were unable to produce the original deeds to prove that this was not so. The dispute had been fought and won by the landlords before the District Settlement Operation touched most of the area affected, and the record of rights has done no more than confirm the victory to them. There were villages over the border in Noakhali which came into the first block dealt with and were surveyed in 1914-15 where the *ijāradārs* had not yet acknowledged defeat. When the area of the *pargana* in Tippera was reached in 1917-18 the tenants were found to be paying rent in almost every village to the proprietors direct. There is however one case in which a suit is pending before the High Court and the rent was recorded as being collected by a receiver.

142. The early history of *pargana* Chauddagrām cannot be traced. It was divided into six shares at the time of the Decennial Settlement. The six shares have separate lands and now bearing the *tauzi* Nos. 33-38. The two largest shares, estate No. 37 (just over 4 annas) and estate No. 38 (nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas), belonged to a family of Muhammadan *zamīndārs* at the end of the eighteenth century. They still own a quarter of an estate No. 37, but the rest passed from them. The remainder of estate No. 37 now belongs to Bijay Krishna and Nabin Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Lāksām and others. There are about a dozen large "*tāluka*" besides many smaller ones and considerable subinfeudation in lower grades. Middle rights in Chauddagrām are generally called "*tāluka*" without any qualifying epithet. Estate No. 38 was purchased in 1857 by Sib Dulāl Tewāri of Comilla and is still in the hands of his descendants but for the fact that a portion has been broken off and is in possession of some of the Homnābād *zamīndārs*. The number of "*tāluka*" held under estate No. 38 is very large, but they usually extend only to small

blocks of land. *Osat tāluks* and *hāolās* carry the subinfeudation some distance further. Estate No. 36 (three annas of the *pargana*) passed by sale to Krishna Kumār Basu of Srinagar (Dacca) as early as 1819 and his descendants still own two-thirds of it. "*Tāluks*" are not as numerous as in estates Nos. 37 and 38. Estates Nos. 35 and 34 belong to Bijay Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri and Kailās Chandra Rāy Chaudhuri and under them middle rights are numerous. Estate No. 33 belongs to Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Lāksām. But for a few rent-free tenures there is practically no subinfeudation. The average incidence of the rents of occupancy *rai'yats* in the several estates is as follows :—

			Rs. A. P.		
In estate No. 33	...	...	3	8	6 per acre.
" " 34	...	...	3	15	3 "
" " 35	...	...	3	4	9 "
" " 36	...	...	2	5	9 "
" " 37	...	...	7	3	3 "
" " 38	...	...	3	4	9 "

143. *Pargana* Nurullāpur is one of the largest *parganas* in East Bengal and belongs to Dacca. In Tippera there are only three small *khārīja tāluks* having land near the Meghna and Joār Lagneswar situated at the north of Lāksām *thana*. This is covered by an estate bearing tauzi No. 6 of the Tippera roll and its connection with the main *pargana* Nurullāpur is not to be discovered. The Decennial Settlement was made with one Abdul Khāyer, but the property passed in 1800 A.D. to one Abu Taraf whose family residing at Sachipāndaripa in Dacca town still held it until 1909, when all but a share of three-fourths of an anna was purchased by the Nawāb of Comilla, and that share has since been leased to him in *patni*. There are no other middle rights except a very few rent-free grants to Muhammadans. The average rent paid by occupancy *rai'yats* is Rs. 2-11-6 per acre.

144. Joār Lakshanpur belonged at the Decennial Settlement to Abul Khayer who held also Joār Lagneswar (Nurullāpur). It was sold for arrears of revenue in 1843 and purchased by Mr. Henry Rowe, the Civil Surgeon, who, unable to realize his rents satisfactorily, created a number of large permanent tenures in favour of substantial *bhadralok* of the locality between 1850 and 1860. Ultimately, sometime before 1880, he sold to the Sukul family of Comilla. The estate bears No. 5 of the *Tauzi* Roll. The average rent of occupancy *rai'yats* is Rs. 3-0-6 per acre.

145. Dallai *Pargana* appears from a *Lakheraj* deed to have been held by Abdulla Khān and Mānbar Khān, sons of Karim Khān, in the year 1683 A.D. A small share of ২১/১০ was separated early in the 18th century and was in the hands of one Rām Prasād Chakrabarti, of Keatkhalī in Dacca at the time of Permanent Settlement. It is still in the hands of his family and bears *tauzi* No. 332. The rest was divided in 1747 between Fateh Khān and Bakhtar Khān. The Tutteh and Moroom mentioned by James Grant as the *zamindārs* in 1758 are Fateh Khān and Māsim Khān, son of Bakhtar Khān. The 9 annas was divided again into ১২/১৬ which went to Dānis Muhammad and ১৬/১৬ which went to Taib Bibi. Her share was again divided into three, two of which were separated at the Permanent Settlement, now form estates 48, 305, 632-634, 642, 654, 1161-1163, 1696 and 1722 and have passed into the hands of strangers except a share which belongs to Tafazal Hussein Chaudhuri of Ubrabāri who is descended from the original *zamindārs*. The third small share with the share of ১২/১৬ passed to one Muhammad Jān and his sister Golāp Bibi, children of Dānis. A partition appears to have been going on between them and the proprietors of the 7 annas share when there was a failure to pay the revenue, and between 1834 and 1837 Government bought up shares amounting to ৬/১৪১, nearly 15½ annas of the *pargana*, now bearing *tauzi* No. 424. It was surveyed in 1840-42 and a *chūha* prepared

which is called Kālā Amin's *chitha*. Baksha Ali Chaudhuri had it in farm for 20 years paying Rs. 36,000 annually, Arfānnessa, grandmother of the present Nawāb of Comilla, for five years paying Rs. 40,000 and Hussein Ali Chaudhuri of Kānchanpur for four years paying Rs. 45,000. In 1870 it was *dāimi* settled with the Nawāb of Dacca. Though the rent-roll showed a total of no more than Rs. 53,960, Rs. 45,209 from *rai'yats* and Rs. 8,751 from *tālukdārs*, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 52,722 and the Nawāb paid Rs. 2,93,000 as premium. He had the estate measured in 1873 and on the basis of the measurement raised the total of the rent-roll to Rs. 83,696. Certain villages have been remeasured again since and the collections from the property now exceed one lakh of rupees. The average rent paid by occupancy *rai'yats* in the estate is Rs. 3-0-8 per acre. They usually pay direct to the Nawāb and middle rights are very few.

Three *khārijū tāluks* were separated at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

146. There are signs of an earthwork fortification said to have marked the home of the original Tora *Zamin-dārs* in the village of Toragar adjoining Hājiganj to the east. The *pargana* is one of the oldest in Tippera and appears in the *Ain-I-Akbari* with an assessment of Rs. 2,622. It must have been two centuries ago that it passed to the Shāhā family of *zamindārs* who are said to have come from Burdwan and settled at Rāicho opposite Hājiganj. Part of the *pargana* had passed from them by 1758 to one Rasul Kāsim Shafia, and there were dissensions among the Shāhās themselves. A certain Muhammad Ibrāhīm, probably the proprietor of Baradākhāt, was called in as an arbitrator to settle the dispute, and did so by carving Tappe Ibrāhimpur out of the *pargana* and giving it to the father of Dhani Rām Rāy and Devi Prasād Rāy with whom the Permanent Settlement was concluded. The remainder of the *pargana* passed to four distinct families. The original Shāhā family retained a share of ¼ called the "Shāhā *daftar*" and it remains in the same family to this day. There are now two branches—one living at Rāmpur and owning ½ and the other living at Balākhāl and owning the remainder. The estate now bears *tauzi* No. 302 and the property has now been privately partitioned. Some of the descendants of the family which obtained Tappe Ibrāhimpur also live at Balākhāl. A share of ¼ belonged to one Adam Khān Chaudhuri and is called the "Chaudhuri *daftar*". ¼ had passed away from his family to one Rām Prasād Rāy before the Permanent Settlement; the remaining ¼, now estate No. 301, passed away soon afterwards. Half of it now belongs to the Balākhāl Shāhā family of Tappe Ibrāhimpur in proprietary right and they have a farming lease for the rest. The ¼ share was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased by Government in 1834. It was measured and divided into three *dihis* or blocks and farmed until 1861 when the *dihis* were separately *dāimi* settled, the largest now bearing *tauzi* No. 375 with the Rāy Chaudhuris of Lāksām. A share of ¼ at the time of the Permanent Settlement belonged to the Brāhmin family of Bakila and is called the "Brāhmin *daftar*." There are now six estates Nos. 296-300 and 629. The Rāmpur Shāhā family has purchased a considerable share; most of the rest still belongs to the Bakila *Zamindārs*. The largest share ¼, until recently estate No. 303, belonged to the family of Golām Ali and Golām Martuja of Sangattola in Dacca and is called the "Shekh *daftar*." Gradually it passed away from the original family and the number of sharers multiplied till they were more than a hundred. The estate was under partition when the record-of-rights of most of it was prepared and has now been divided into 33. The largest share belongs to the estate of the late Rāi Abhay Charan Mitra Bahādur who made a fortune out of contracts for supplies to the Lushāi Expedition. Other important co-sharers are Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Lāksām and Kailās Chandra Mitra.

The fate of the *patnis* for aliquot shares of estate No. 303, each extending to one or two *mauzas* only, in the Partition Proceedings is to be found mentioned in paragraph 215 below. Throughout Tora *Pargana* there may be said to be little sub-infeudation. In the separate lands of the small shares forming estates 297, 301 and 629 there are no middlemen at all. There are very few in estates Nos. 296, 298, 299 and 300, and the considerable number

of middle interests found under estate No. 302 are mainly accounted for by rent-free tenures and small *jotes*. There are some rent-free tenures which are held under several estates of the *pargana* jointly.

The level of *raiya* rents in Tora is very low indeed. There was formerly a considerable quantity of uncultivated land, and the numerous co-sharers in each estate have not been able to combine to undertake remeasurement and reassessment for many years. The average incidence of the rents paid by occupancy *raiya*s in the several estates is as follows :—

			Rs. A. P.		
In the "Shāhā <i>daftar</i> "	estate No. 302	...	1	14	10 per acre
In the "Chaudhuri <i>daftar</i> "	estate " 301	...	1	11	2 "
dāimi	estate " 373	...	1	11	6 "
In the "Brāhmin <i>daftar</i> "	estate " 296	...	2	11	2 "
Ditto	estate " 297	...	2	7	4 "
Ditto	estate " 298	...	2	7	8 "
Ditto	estate " 299	...	1	15	4 "
Ditto	estate " 300	...	2	1	1 "
Ditto	estate " 629	...	2	9	10 "
In the "Shekh <i>daftar</i> "	estate " 303	...	1	14	0 "
now partitioned.					
Over the whole <i>pargana</i>	the average is below	...	2	0	0 "

147. How Tappe Ibrāhimpur was dismembered from Tora has been described. Dhani Rām Rāy held a share of 1/64, Tappe Ibrāhimpur. now estate No. 101 which is held by his descendants living at Balākhāl to this day, and his brother Debi Prasād the rest. When Debi Prasād died he left seven grandsons with whom the Permanent Settlement was made. The shares of two remained joint. The six separate properties now form estates 102-107. All these estates have been sold out of the hands of the original family. Three have passed to the Chaudhuri families of Solla and Ninschintapur and the rest to Shāhā families of Rāmpur and Noagāon, the Basus of Karaitala, Durga Prasād Sen of Sāchār and others.

There are rent-free tenures held under some of the estates and the *khārija tāluk* No. 68 jointly, but the estates are otherwise separate. In the separate estates there are further rent-free tenures, but beyond them except in estate No. 103 there is very little sub-infeudation. In estate No. 103 there are 10 groups of co-sharer landlords who have made assignments of their sharers to local people for the purpose of collection of the rent due. The level of *raiya* rents is as low as in Tora *pargana* itself. The average incidence of rents actually paid by occupancy *raiya*s in the several estates is as follows :—

			Rs. A. P.		
In estate No. 101	...	...	2	12	6 per acre.
" " 102	...	...	2	0	3 "
" " 103	...	...	1	14	9 "
" " 104	...	...	1	15	8 "
" " 105	...	...	1	11	1 "
" " 106	...	...	1	10	6 "
" " 107	...	...	1	15	1 "

148. The place called Mehār is famous for the *mela* which takes place there at the *Paus Sankrānta* (last day of the month of *Paus*) to celebrate the tradition that the Goddess Kālī appeared there under a great *Banyan* tree to the ascetic Sarbananda Thākur. The place has given its name to the *pargana* but the Dās Rājās the old family of *Zamindārs* were not of the priestly caste. The *pargana* appears in the *Ain-I-Akbārī* with an assessment of Rs. 1,520. It was still in the hands of the same family at the time of the Permanent Settlement but was divided into eight shares. Four of these shares totalling 1/611// were purchased by Government for arrears of rent between 1834 and 1836. They were farmed for nine years with Mr. Henry Rowe who was Civil Surgeon at Comilla. They were surveyed in 1846 and divided into 19 *dihis* or blocks. The

proprietary settlement of these blocks at a revenue fixed for a term of 50 years and the decision at the end of the term that the revenue should not be revised have been already described in paragraph 127. Two of the *dihis* were again purchased by Government for arrears in 1850 held *khās* for 10 years and then *dāimi* settled. These two *dihis* bear the *tauzi*. Nos. 381 and 509, the other 17 the Nos. 1889-1892, 1896-1899, 1902, 1904, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1914-1917 and shares which have subsequently been separated from them by partition Nos. 2502-2515, 2536-2545 and 2637-2647. If there were middle rights in this share of the *pargana* before Government's purchase there is now no trace of them. A few middle rights have been created since, but as a rule there is very little subinfeudation and very little complication on account of extensive coparcenary among the proprietors. The rents paid by occupancy *raiya*s average about Rs. 2 in most of the *dihis* but are much higher in estates 509 (Rs. 4-6-7), 1897 (Rs. 4-12-10), 1910 (Rs. 5-5-10) and 1912 (Rs. 9-8-7).

Two of the original shares of the *pargana* representing three annas each were purchased about 1845 by Mr. Henry Rowe. He created a number of *shikmi tāluks* about 1858-59 with rent fixed in perpetuity. He sold immediately afterwards to Sib Sahāya Sukul of Comilla, but his creation of the *tāluks* does not seem to have been done with a view to realizing as much as he could out of the property and then leaving it, for he took in most cases just less than a year's rent as *sōlāmi* (premium) and the *tāluks* were settled at rentals high for those times. The Sukuls are still the proprietors. The estate bears the *tauzi* No. 328 and the revenue is rather over Rs. 10,000. There were recorded no less than 570 middle interests within it. Though the *shikmi tāluks* were not very many the subinfeudation opens like a fan from them in *darshikmis*, *hāolas* and *mirās* tenures. The rent paid by occupancy *raiya*s in the estate averages as much as Rs. 3-11-5 per acre.

The original two annas share of the *pargana* was sold for arrears of revenue in 1835, changed hands again in 1840, and in 1853 was purchased by Raghunandan Thākur of Calcutta whose family owns it still. The estate bears *tauzi* No. 179 and its revenue is much higher in proportion to the share of the *pargana* which it represents than that of estate 328. The present proprietors have granted leases which are called *Sarāsari Jimbadāris*. The holders do not necessarily consider themselves middlemen so that, when it happens to be cultivators who have taken these settlements, these are not cases of "tenures by promotion" so commonly found in Noākhali. The settlements created rights to hold for an indefinite term, but it was not stated whether settlement was being taken for the purpose of cultivation by the holder or for the purpose of subletting, and at the time of attestation of the record-of-rights the *jimbadārs* were recorded as tenure-holders or *raiya*s according to the use to which they had put the property immediately after the agreements were concluded. There are very few middle rights named otherwise within the estate, but there are *dar-jimbadārs*, and the total number of middle interests is more than 300. The rents paid by occupancy *raiya*s in the estate average Rs. 2-13 per acre. The remaining share of 301/ gradually passed out of the hands of the original family and Muhammadan family which in 1830 bought half of it. Now two-thirds of it belongs to Giris Mazumdar of Lakshmipur and the rest in small shares to others. There are seven resumed *lākherāj* properties in the *pargana* which were *dāimi* settled.

149. When the Moghuls conquered the Rājās of Bishnupur (Bankura)

Gunānandi

at the beginning of the 17th century, one Jagan-nāth a member of the Rāj family fled eastwards.

His grandson Rām Chandra obtained permission to reclaim an area of waste land on the banks of the Meghna. His grandson Nara Singha Chaudhuri was given the title of "Gunārnaba" by Shāista Khān and after him the *pargana* was named Gunānandi. At the time of the Permanent Settlement the two original shares of 9 and 7 annas had become 13, and 156 *khārija tāluks* were separated from the *zamindāri*. The *pargana* had begun to feel the effect of diluvion before the Permanent Settlement and the assessment made at that time was certainly high. Thirty years later the prosperity of this part of the country had greatly decreased. Much of the land had gone out of cultivation and the betelnut gardens run to waste. Probably a plague attacked the trees, and there may have been a pestilence among

the inhabitants, although Mr. Bruce* put the deserted state of the country down mainly to over-assessment and oppression of the tenants by their landlords. Whatever may have been the facts, all but a share of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *gandas* of Gunānandi *zamindārs* came into Government's hands by revenue sales between 1827 and 1835 as well as several of the *khārīja tāluks*. The property was first farmed with Messrs. Courjon and Delauney of Comilla, but their lease was cancelled on account of their oppression of the tenants. In 1844 the property was surveyed and rents fixed. It was divided first into two blocks the North and South *Dihis*. Then the latter was divided into the East and West *Dihis* and each of the three *dihis* was separately settled in farm for 50 years. The farms were renewed for 30 years, which period is still running. The North Dihi estate No. 1859 and the West Dihi estate No. 1861 are in the hands of Paresh Nāth Sen of the family of Rājā Rāj Ballab, while the East Dihi estate No. 1860 is held by Beni Mādhav Sukul and others of Comilla. Estate No. 1859 has come under settlement of fair rents in circumstances detailed in part III, Chapter II, of this report where the manner of settlement will be found described. The average rent paid by occupancy *rai'yats* was only Rs. 1-3-11 per acre before this revision of assessment, although the land is from an agricultural point of view the most valuable in the district. The average rent paid in estate No. 1860 is Re. 1-8-6 per acre and in estate 1861 Rs. 2-3-10.

150. Purāndar Rāy and Chandī Rāy were two brothers who fled to the east of the Meghna after the former had refused to give his daughter to Kedār Rāy, one of the two famous brothers Chānd Rāy and Kedār Rāy of Sripur. After their fall the two fugitives obtained the grant of 18 villages east of the Meghna from the Moghul Viceroy and the property was named Purchāndi. The revenue in Moghul days was half *khālśa* and half *jā'igir. nawāra*, and definite shares, separately dealt with at the Permanent Settlement but usually having joint lands, were set apart for each. There were many *khārīja tāluks* separated in 1793. Some have been diluviated but there are still 95. Forty years or so later the *pargana* having suffered from diluvion twelve annas of the *khālśa* property and four annas of the *nawāra* were purchased by Government for arrears of revenue. This property became the *khās mahāl* estate No. 1867. Some years afterwards a further eight annas of the *nawāra* was similarly purchased by Government, but remained a separate estate until it was amalgamated with estate No. 1867 in 1913 at the time of resettlement of revenue by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur, who surveyed it during the *Diāra* Survey of the Meghna between Tippera and Faridpur. Three annas of the *nawāra* became Government property in 1864 and was *dā'imī* settled in 1868. It is estate No. 697. The last one anna of the *nawāra* Government purchased as late as 1880 and it is still a *khās mahāl* bearing *tauzi* No. 1984. The remaining four annas of the *khālśa* (estates 207 and 648) have remained private property. The settlement of the *khās mahāls* was carried out by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur in 1913. Even the moderate enhancement effected met with violent opposition at the hands of the tenants. The settlement of rents in the urban areas of the estates in Chāndpur town has not yet been completed. It was left for the Collector to carry out on the lines of the Transfer of Property Act, as section 104 of the Tenancy Act was not applicable. The average incidence of rents of occupancy *rai'yats* in the several estates is :—

					Rs. A. P.			
In estate No.	207	...	...	...	3	1	6	per acre.
"	"	648	...	...	3	9	1	"
"	"	697	...	...	3	11	11	"
"	"	1867	...	...	3	1	4	"
"	"	1984	...	...	4	1	3	"

151. The *pargana* Maizardi in Tippera appears to have had no connection with the better known one of the same name in Bakarganj. Its early history is unknown, but it was split into two shares 9 annas and 7 annas and these were treated separately at the Decennial Settlement, when there were in all 39 *khārijū tāluks* formed. The 9 annas now estate No. 1975 was purchased for arrears of revenue by Government in 1836. It was in farm from 1843 to 1878 and since that time has been a *khās mahāl* under direct management. The 7 annas share now estate No. 175 was brought to sale for arrears of revenue in 1807 and again later. By 1852 it had passed to the Pāl Chaudhuri family who together with the Mazumdārs of Bakharpur (Chāndpur) still own most of it. The average rent paid by occupancy *raiya*t is Rs. 2-13-8. per acre.

152. *Pargana* Syāmpur, which is very scattered, lies in the south-west of Tippera and extends to a number of small blocks in Noakhali district also, is in origin a *Nawāra mahāl*. Part of the revenue was still nominally *nawāra* when the Dewāni of Bengal was taken over by the East India Company. That part, much the smaller, was assessed upon separate lands and was made a separate estate (now bearing *tauzi* No. 190) at the Decennial Settlement. The part whose revenue was *khālsa* now bears *tauzi* No. 294. The latter estate was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased in 1835 by Mr. Charles Lamb of Dacca, who sold in 1860 to Prān Krishna Banerji of Calcutta and Gopi Mohan Ghosh of Murshidabad. The estate is still in the hands of their descendants although Gopi Mohan's share is dedicated to the Hindu God Syām Sundar. The estate has thus been in the hands of absentee landlords for three-quarters of a century, and at various times they have assigned all of it to middlemen. Umār Charan Aich Rāy holds two blocks in *patni* paying Rs. 2,704 and Rs. 1,563. The Court of Wards holds another *patni* with a rent of Rs. 1,928 for Rādhika Jiban Sen. A *patni* with a rent of Rs. 432 is held by Thākur Din Tewāri of Comilla, and besides there are four large *hāolus* and some smaller ones. Subinfeudation is carried a considerable extent by small tenures subordinate to the *patnis*. The *Nawāra* estate No. 190, belongs to the same proprietors as estate No. 294. The average rent of occupancy *raiya*t is Rs. 4-2 in the *Nawāra* estate and Rs. 3-2-6 in the *khālsa* estate.

153. Sakdi *pargana* took its name from Sakdeb Rāy one of its first owners. It was broken into 16 shares before the Permanent Settlement and separate settlements were made. The largest share 1/7 just over one-third was settled with one Ganga Narāin Rāy. It remained in his family till it was sold for arrears of revenue in 1873 and purchased by Syed Hāsan Ali Chaudhuri of Kānchanpur. In 1888 it was again brought to sale and purchased by Madan Mohan Basāk of Dacca whose descendants hold it still. Certain *patnis* were created under a three-fourths share of the estate just before the first sale and others by Hāsan Ali Chaudhuri. The estate is now No. 261. There are few middle rights under it besides the *patnis* which have already been mentioned. Another share of 1/7 was purchased in 1873 by Syed Hasan Ali and afterwards sold to the Basāks. Its *tauzi* No. is 617. Rents of occupancy *raiya*t in estate No. 261 average Rs. 3-13-9 per acre and in estate No. 617 Rs. 4-3-4.

Seven of the original shares, making 1/7 nearly one-third in all, were purchased by Government for arrears of revenue between 1833 and 1836. They were farmed with Mr. Henry Rowe from 1837 to 1845 when they were surveyed at the same time as the purchased shares of *pārgana* Mehār, divided into 12 *dihis* and then settled for 50 years on the same terms. In 1855 a quarter of the revenue of each was abated on account of the disease which destroyed so many of the betelnut trees in the south-western part of the district. One of the *dihis* was purchased by Government again at a revenue sale in 1856 and *dāimi* settled in 1864 with Usmān Gāzi Pātwāri of Rāmpur whose descendants are still in possession. The 50 years term expired in 1897 but the Government of Bengal stayed proceedings for a reassessment in the case of the purchased share of Mehār, and the estates, which now bear Nos. 1882-1884, 1886-1888, 1894, 1905, 1908, 1911 and 1913 are treated as having been

dāimi settled in 1847. It does not appear that even the remission of one-fourth of the revenue given for the loss of the betelnut trees in 1856 has been added again to the revenue. There is little subinfeudation in the *dāimi* estates and the number of co-sharer landlords is usually few. The level of *raiyaṭi* rents is very low. In estate No. 1888 the average is only annas 14-8 per acre and in only one of the *dihis* is the average above Rs. 2. The rents have not been systematically revised since the *dihis* were held *khās*.

The original share of १/११ now estate No. 260 was settled in 1794 with some of the *Shāhās* of Balakhāl. Their descendants still hold it. Shares of १/८ and १/९, now estates Nos. 258 and 259, belonged at the time of the Permanent Settlement to Brāhmins of Bakila and are still held by their descendants. Another १/९ share now estate No. 257 has passed into the hands of a number of Muhammadans. Two shares of १/८ and १/९ were purchased by Government for arrears of revenue in 1839. They have been held *khās* ever since and now bear *tauzi* No. 1993. The remaining १/११ was purchased by Government in 1852 and has remained *khās* since. It bears *tauzi* No. 1992. Re-assessment of revenue in both these estates has been completed during the present Settlement Operations. All the estates of the *pargana* have separate lands but they are scattered in small blocks over a large number of villages. There is usually little subinfeudation. *Raiyaṭi* rents average Rs. 2-6-3 per acre in estate No. 257, Rs. 3-3-4 in estate No. 258, Rs. 3-3-9 in estate No. 259 and Rs. 2-7-11 in estate No. 260.

154. *Pargana Kardi* originally belonged to certain *Kars*, but had passed to a Brāhmin family before the Permanent Settlement. The property is known as "*Pargana Kardi*

Kardi.

six annas share," but nothing is known as to what the 10 annas share represents. Kardi was purchased by Government for arrears of revenue in 1836, farmed for a few years with Mr. Henry Rowe, the Civil Surgeon, and afterwards surveyed and divided into *dihis* which were settled on the same terms as the *dihis* of Mehār for 50 years. One was purchased by Government in 1875 and is the *khās mahāl* estate No. 1875. The others are now held to be permanently settled on analogy with Mehār. They are estates Nos. 1893, 1901 and 1906. There were eight *khārīja tāluks* created at the Permanent Settlement, two of which estates Nos. 1991 and 1954 were purchased by Government at revenue sales and are *khās mahāls*. The average *raiyaṭi* rents in estates 1893, 1901 and 1906 are respectively Re. 1-12-1, Re. 1-6-6 and Rs. 2-9-7 per acre.

155. The *zamindār* family of *Pargana Singhergāon* trace their descent from the famous General Mān Singh. Bāman

Singhergāon.

Singh the 13th in descent from Mān Singh is said to have come a fugitive from his own country and settled at Hugla, then an island in the estuary of the Meghna, and built up the *pargana* which was named after his family. His family are said to have beaten off the attack of the Sur Rājās of Bhulua (the Noakhali *pargana*) in a great battle on their borders. They increased in numbers and almost in each successive generation a energetic scion of the race would break off and build himself a separate house in a different part of the *pargana*. Thus Damodar Singha Rāy in the 3rd generation from Bāman Singh established himself at Gulisa from which he drove out the original inhabitants after a fight the memory of which is perpetuated in the name of the village Lārāir Char. Rāj Ballab Rāy in the 6th generation went to Sasiāli and founded a house, Pratāp Narāin Rāy his son to Rupsa, Amar Singha Rāy in the 8th generation to Karaṭali and Rāj Kalyān Rāy in the 12th to Chāpitala. Extensive ruins mark the site still known as the Chāpitala Rājbari where he built himself a house. Other branches of the family were similarly established at Khajuria Mandartali, Ashta, Chaumukha, Chandradwip (Kachua), Uzirpur (in Bakarganj), Adsha, Dallāi Kalyān and Jāisri. The part of the *pargana* retained by the descendants of Bāman Singh who had stayed at home became Tappe Furrakkābād named after the original home of the family now in the United Provinces. A two annas share of Singhergāon passed to one "Shekh Sāhib" and was transferred to *Pargana Muhabbatpur*. The more part of what remained went to Rāj Ballab's house of Sasiāli. There is an amusing story of how his son Pratāp Narāin was forced to turn Muhammadan, call himself Fatāli

Chaudhuri and settled at Rupsa where the present Rupsa *Zamindārs* eighth in descent from him still live. The Rupsa share had been १२/१०, but before the Permanent Settlement the Shāhā family of Lohagar had purchased २३/११// and Braja Dālāl of Dālāl-Bāzār (near Lakshmipur in Noakhali) ११// leaving only १/११, for which Permanent Settlement was concluded with Hussein and Bakhtar Gāzi of Rupsa and which is still in the hands of the family, the estate bearing tauzi No. 282. The Dālāls purchased from the Lohagar Shāhās. Their land was partitioned from the Rupsa share in 1789, but passed to the Rupsa *Zamindārs* later, and now bears tauzi No. 345. Out of the share ११/१०//१० left to the Sasiāli branch १/११ passed to the Dewān of the family Sib Dās Chaudhuri. It now belongs mainly to the Basus of Karaitali. The *tauzi* No. is 281. The rest was divided before and just after the Permanent Settlement into twenty separate estates. Three of these comprising १०/११ fell in arrears in payment of revenue and purchased by Government in 1834. Four *khārīja tāluks* were similarly purchased in 1838. The *Shikimīdārs* found under these estates were offered temporary settlements as tenure-holders which some accepted and some refused, and the whole property was let in farm to one Manu Gāzi for twenty years, one condition of the lease being that he should plant 8,000 betelnut trees every five years. This he failed to do and his settlement was annulled in 1851. The next farmer was Syed Hāsan Ali Chaudhuri of Kanchanpur. The estate is still a *khās mahāl* bearing tauzi No. 1996. Revision of land revenue has been completed during the present Settlement Operations. The remaining 17 shares of the *parḡana*, now forming estates 271-278 and 280 and others, are now mainly in the hands of Syed Shāh Muhammad and Syed Abdul Latif of Rupsa, the Chaudhuris and Basus of Karaitali, and the Guhas of Srirāmpur (Noakhali). At the time of the Permanent Settlement half of Singhergāon *Pargana* was dismembered in *khārīja tāluks* which represented the parcels belonging to scattered members of the original family or acquired from some of them. Some of the *khārīja tāluks* have changed hands several times and several have been purchased by Government for arrears of revenue and afterwards *dāimi* settled.

It is the rule to find under the Rupsa Chaudhuris a large number of small *pātni tāluks* created a generation back each covering a separate little block of land. This is the case for instance in estate 275 belonging to Syed Abdul Latif Miā, estates Nos. 278 and 280 belonging to Syed Abdul Gani Miā and estates 282 and 345 belonging to Ahamad Gāzi Chaudhuri, etc. In estate No. 345 there are 150 small *pātnis* and in estate No. 282 no less than 200. The middle rights are tenures by promotion after the Noakhali pattern. In the estates held by the Karaitala Basus and others there are somewhat fewer rent-paying middle rights which are more often called *shikmis* than *pātnis*, but there are *brahmattars* and similar rent-free tenures in considerable numbers. The average incidence of the rents of occupancy *raiya*ts in the several estates is as follows :—

				Rs. A. P.		
In estate No.	271	...	...	3	0	0 per acre.
" "	272	...	...	2	6	9 "
" "	273	...	...	2	10	7 "
" "	274	...	...	3	10	11 "
" "	276	...	...	2	9	10 "
" "	277	...	...	2	9	10 "
" "	278	...	...	4	0	4 "
" "	280	...	...	3	0	9 "
" "	281	...	...	2	12	9 "
" "	282	...	...	4	11	8 "
" "	283	...	...	3	13	10 "
" "	345	...	...	3	15	8 "

156. It has already been mentioned that Tappe Farrukkābād was separated from Singhergāon. It went to the branches of the Singh family at Gulisha, Chāpila, Khājuriā, Jāisri and Karaitali. Rājā Biswanāth Singha of Karaitali left no son. His daughter married one Rām Gopāl Basu. Before he died the Rājā made a

tāluk of all his property in the name of his grandson still unborn who was to be called Indra Narāin. This *tāluk* was separated from Tappe Farrukkābād early in the days of the British administration and is the ancestral property of the Basus of Karaitali. It now forms estates 112-116 of the *tauzi* roll. There were many smaller *khārija tāluks* separated at the time of the Decennial Settlement representing as in Singhergāon *pargana* mainly the parcels of land belonging to scattered members of the Singha family or acquired from some of them. The main block of the *pargana* had been divided, $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas going to the Gulisa and Chāpila branches of the family and afterwards devolved on Rājā Durga Jay Singha, $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas to the Khājuria branch and $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas to the Jāisri branch. The two shares of $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas, estates Nos. 211 and 212, and estate No. 213 representing one-half of the $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas share have now passed mainly to Rupsa landlords, who have as usual created large numbers of small *patnis*. There are almost 200 under Ahamad Gāzi-Chaudhuri, etc., in estate No. 213, and 150 under Asraf Reza Chaudhuri in estate 211. The remaining half of Durga Jay Singha's property was that which went to his son Rām Ratan Rāy. The latter's son divided it in two. Half, now estate No. 333, he kept and half, now estate No. 210, was dedicated to religious purposes. There are many *Brahmattars* and a number of rent-paying middle rights usually called *jotes* under estate No. 211, but in estate No. 333 now held by the Guhas of Srirampur there is very little subinfeudation. There are rent-free tenures under estates 210, 213 and 333 jointly and one or two rent-paying tenures held jointly under estates 210 and 333 and 211 and 212, otherwise the lands of the estates are separate. The average incidence of the rents of occupancy *raiya*ts is :—

			RS.	A.	P.	
In estate No. 210	...	...	2	2	3	per acre.
" " 211	...	...	3	0	0	"
" " 212	...	...	2	4	6	"
" " 213	...	...	3	1	6	"
" " 333	...	...	2	2	7	"

157. The history of Mahabbatpur *pargana* which was formed late and broke up early is lost in obscurity. By the middle of the 18th century the *zamindārs* had disappeared and the land had been parcelled out among their old servants and the owners of certain properties, such as the Mazundārs of Baradia, who had held before the *pargana* was formed and had again become independent. The separate parcels, about two hundred in all, were treated as *khārija tāluks* at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The following were the most important of them :—

(a) *Tāluk* Hari Charan Chaudhuri with a revenue over Rs. 5,000 was separated in the name of former servant of the old *zamindārs*. It was later divided into seven shares, two of just over $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas, one of two annas and odd and four each equal to one-twelfth of the whole. These seven blocks have separate lands, but the owners of the blocks are not now distinct persons. One Bilās Chandra Mukhopadhyay owns the two annas, three of the one-twelfth shares and fractions in each of the $\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The remaining fractions belong to various persons. The main *tāluk* is estate No. 75 of the *Tauzi* Roll, small shares only being separate estates with *Tauzi* Nos. 76 and 77. There is a very large number of small *patnis* and *hāolas* under the landlords, and *nimhāolas*, etc., carry the subinfeudation further. Rents of occupancy *raiya*ts average Rs. 2-1-2 per acre in estate No. 75 and are slightly higher in the other two.

(b) *Tāluk* Gobinda Rām Rāy now estate No. 61 with a revenue over Rs. 3,000 was the property of a servant of the *zamindārs* who belonged to the old stock of the proprietors of *pargana* Narāinpur. Originally it was six annas of the same property of which *tāluk* Har Narain Chaudhuri was 10 annas. Estate No. 61 is still mainly in the hands of Gobinda Rām Rāy's descendents Rāj Kumār Rāy and others. There is a very large number of small *Brahmattars* under this estate and a considerable number of small rent-paying middle rights generally designated *hāola* or *jote*. Rents of occupancy *raiya*ts average Rs. 2-14 per acre.

(c) *Tāluk* Sib Prān Rup Gupta now estates Nos. 265-269 with a revenue nearly Rs. 3,000 belongs to the Guptas of Kānchanpur who had been servants of the Mahabbatpur *zamindārs*. The property has now passed into the hands of many different people the majority of whom are local Muhammadans who have raised themselves above the level of their neighbours. Middle rights are not many but often extend to several grades. Rents of occupancy *raiya*ts average Rs. 3 per acre.

(d) What are now estates Nos. 133, 245 and 283, revenue about Rs. 1,500, belonged to the Mazumdārs of Baradia before Mahabbatpur became a *pargana* and are still in possession of the descendants of the same family. Middle rights and especially rent-free tenures are comparatively few. The rent-paying tenures are *hāclās*. Rents of occupancy *raiya*ts average Rs. 2-14-6 per acre.

158. The revenue of *pargana* Nārāinpur was put at the high figure Rs. 23,519 in the *Ain-I-Akbari*. This included Nārāinpur. the dues levied at the old port of Chāndpur which as the Collector of Tippera reported in 1792 had been diluviated long before that date. It also probably covered several other *parganas* now separate, Mahabbatpur, Singhergāon, etc., which are not mentioned by Abu Fazl Allāmi, but as they adjoined the Meghna must have been under Moghul dominion. Tradition has it that the *pargana* was given to one Nārāin Rāo of Sonārgāon by the Moghul Viceroy as a reward for his military service at the beginning of the 18th century. His family settled at Payāli now in *thana* Matlab. Soon afterwards one Ajodhya Rām Sāidāl set himself up at Aliāra, now under Kachua police-station, called himself Rājā, built himself a fort the ruins of which are still to be seen and began to harry the neighbouring *zamindārs* especially those of *parganas* Kāsimpur-Etkādpur and Nārāinpur. They called to their aid Rājā Krishna Dās Rāy, son of the famous Rājā Rāj Ballab of Rājnagar, who defeated and destroyed Ajodhya Rām and was given portions of both Nārāinpur and Kāsimpur-Etkādpur which were added to Rājnagar *pargana*. Next a powerful Moghul came forward and set up a claim to *pargana* Nārāinpur. The *zamindārs* remembering what their quarrel with Ajodhya Rām had cost them bought him off by giving up a block of land which is called the Mugarāi *mahāl* to him in the name of Shāhzādi Khānun who was probably his wife. She was the grandmother of Mirza Hossein Ali the devotee who built the *Kālibāri* and the mosque side by side at Nārāinpur. The *mahāl* was treated as a separate estate at the Decennial Settlement and has by partitions in 1892, 1898 and 1907 become estates Nos. 255, 2153, 2297-2307 and 2650-2654 of the *tauzi* roll.

Different versions of the same story tell how $8\frac{1}{2}$ annas of *pargana* Nārāinpur passed from Rāmeswar Rāy the *zamindār* with the hand of his daughter to one Dora Gāzi a Muhammadan of Tulpāi, and Rāmeswar left his old home and went to live at Nalua. Of this $8\frac{1}{2}$ annas share, most of a share of $\frac{1}{6}$ now comprising estates Nos. 194-197 has now passed to Jagabandhu Shāhā, etc., of Matlab, but small shares remain to Ākrāmennessa of Doghar descended from the Tulpāi family, to Golām Martuja Chaudhuri of Damadārdi through her sister and to a *wakf* held by Abdul Gafur of Bangora, another descendant of Dora Gāzi. The share of $\frac{1}{6}$ now estate No. 198 was purchased by Mr. J. P. Wise of Dacca and sold by him to the Dālāls of Mehuran. The $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas share which Rāmeswar Rāy kept for himself now estate No. 199 remained in the family till 1830. It has since changed hands more than once and is now held by Golām Martuja Chaudhuri, etc.

Two of the *khārīja tāluks* separated from the $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas share were purchased by Government at revenue sales and *dāimi* settled in 1861.

Though the Rāy Chaudhuris of Nalua descendants of Rāmeswar Rāy hold no share of Nārāinpur they still hold a large parcel of the neighbouring *pargana* Mahabbatpur in the *khārīja tāluk* bearing *tauzi* No. 61.

There is not much subinfeudation in the Mugarāi *Mahāl*, but, in the remainder of the *pargana* there is considerably more. The middle rights are usually small and are called *jotes*, *shikmis* and *patnis*. There are as many as 200 middle rights under estate No. 199, half of which are in the second and lower grades and the number of similar interests in the other estates is not smaller in proportion to their size. Though throughout most of their extent

estates 194-198 have separate lands there are small areas which are held by them jointly. The average incidence of the rents of occupancy *raiya*ts in the several estates is as follows :—

		Rs. A. P.					
In estate	No.	194	...	...	3	6	3 per acre.
"	"	195	...	...	2	15	10 "
"	"	196	...	...	2	7	2 "
"	"	197	...	...	2	12	7 "
"	"	198	...	...	2	6	1 "
"	"	199	...	...	2	14	3 "
"	"	225	...	...	2	11	5 "
"	"	2153	...	...	2	0	0 "

159. Before the power of Ajodhya Rām was broken by Rājā Krishna Dās, the son of Rāj Bhallab, the tenants of Dakshin Shāhpur revolted against the *zamindārs* and Rājā Krishna Dās was called in to quell them also. As a reward he took ten annas of the *pargana* for himself. The remaining six annas which comprises estate No. 40 is divided into nine shares with separate blocks of land. Since the division however shares have often changed hands. Now the same proprietor usually owns a fractional share in several of the nine shares originally separated. Thus Muhammad Abed Chaudhuri and Badarannessa of Nischintapur and Nabadwip Chandra Pāl own fractional shares in four of the nine and Aftābannessa Chaudhurāni in three. The settlement record shows the nine original shares divided into 44 proprietary interests, but shares have sometimes been brought together by one co-sharer having given his share in *patni* to another. There are on the whole few permanent middle rights, though the Nischintapur Chaudhuris have in the past been in the habit of granting farming leases. The rents paid by occupancy *raiya*ts average Rs. 2-0-10 per acre.

160. A block from *pargana* Etkādpur was given to Rājā Krishna Dās for the protection he had given it against Ajodhya Rām as was mentioned in the last paragraph. These two *parganas* Etkadpur and Kāsimpur and the *jalkar mahāl* (fishery) called Machuakhāl, most of the revenue being *jāigir*, became united in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb as the property of one Rājā Rām Nāg, who is said to have come from Kayrāpur in Bakarganj, a mendicant on a pilgrimage and guided by a dream to have found under a tree in the village of Kāsimpur a hidden treasure on which he laid the foundations of a large fortune. The ruins of the buildings surrounded by a triple moat which are said to have been his are still to be seen in the village and his descendants still live there. The Narattam Nāg whom Grant mentions as owner of the *pargana* in 1758 was his son. Narattam's two grandsons Jay Narāin and Rup Narāin obtained $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas and $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas of the property respectively. Rup Narāin sold three shares, one anna, half anna and half anna, and the five shares were partitioned in 1825. They now bear *tauzi* Nos. as follows:— $\frac{1}{2}$ anna 54, $\frac{1}{2}$ anna 55, 1 anna 56, $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas 57, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas 58. Two half-anna shares after having passed through the hands of several owners now belong to Golām Martuja Chaudhuri and others of Damadārdi. The $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas share was sold for arrears of revenue in 1854 and purchased by Braja Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Laksām whose descendants are still in possession. Both the $9\frac{1}{2}$ -anna share and one-anna share which had also come into the hands of the senior branch of the family were sold for arrears of revenue in 1833. and purchased by Gaur Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Laksām, but the widow of one of the former owners afterwards obtained a decree for one-third of both properties against the purchaser. Part of this was sold and has passed to the Basus of Baherak and the Guhas of Bajrajogini, both places in Dacca district. The other part has passed by inheritance to Hara Dayāl Nāg. Two-thirds of both estates have passed by inheritance to Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri, etc., of Laksām. The ancestral home is still held by Chandra Kumār Nāg descended from the old family which was allowed by the purchasers to remain in possession of it.

There are certain large *shikmi tāluks* under all the five estates jointly and in their separate lands there is much subinfeudation extending as far as the

7th grade in estate No. 54. The middle rights in the first grade are not many but cover large areas. There are numerous *brahmattars* in the estate No. 58. The rents of occupancy *raiya*t*s* in the several estates average :—

				Rs. A. P.			
In estate	No.	54	...	...	2	14	11 per acre.
"	"	55	...	...	2	4	9 "
"	"	56	...	...	2	7	1 "
"	"	57	...	...	2	9	4 "
"	"	58	...	...	2	14	3 "

161. What Rājā Krishna Dās took from Narāinpur, Kasinpur-Etkādpur and Dakshin Shahpur, formed Chakla Narāinpur and Chakla Dakshin Shahpur of *pargana* Rājnagar. With the main bulk of the *pargana* west of the Meghna it was partitioned in five equal shares by George Thompson in 1791. In the block east of the river the five shares now comprise estates 222-226 of the Tippera *Tauzi* Roll. Estates 222, 224 and 226 are still partially held the Sens who claim descent from Rāj Bhallab and the best known of whom is Babu Pares Nāth Sen, Professor at the Bethune College. Estate 223 has passed to Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri of Laksām and others and estate 225 to Rāj Kumār Dās Rāy and others before the partition there existed a large *hāola* in the name of Pitambar Sen. The parts of the *hāola* falling after partition under the estates now bearing *tau*zi Nos. 222 and 226 were made *khārija tāluks* and are now the estates numbered 41 and 42. Pares Nāth Sen still holds nearly a half of estate No. 42 in which it may be remarked there are no middle rights at all, but estate No. 41 and most of the shares of the *hāola* under estates Nos. 223, 224 and 225 have passed out of the hands of the Sen family. In the *pargana* as a whole, though there are many rent-free tenures, *Brahmattar*, *Britti* and *Debattar*, rent-paying tenures are very few. Many of the rent-free tenures are held under the five estates jointly. The average incidence of rents paid by occupancy *raiya*t*s* in the several estates is as follows :—

				Rs. A. P.			
In estate	No.	222	...	...	1	12	7 per acre.
"	"	223	...	...	2	2	5 "
"	"	224	...	...	2	2	6 "
"	"	225	...	...	2	0	3 "
"	"	226	...	...	2	2	1 "
"	"	41	...	...	1	14	8 "
"	"	42	...	...	2	10	10 "

162. Part of the revenue of *pargana* Srichāil, a compact block in south-east of Daudkāndi *thana*, appears to have been a *jāigir* devoted to the *nawāra* in the time of the Moghuls. It belonged to a family of *Brahmin zamindārs* which is still living at Solla near Hājiganj. They had divided it into eight shares by the time of the Permanent Settlement. Gradually all were alienated by private sales or sales for arrears of revenue and the old Rāy Chaudhuri family now retains no more than two *khārija tāluks*. The number of proprietors is now large, most of them being local men, the Guptas of Katrapāra, Chaudhuris of Chinamura and many others. Two of the original shares of the *pargana* comprising ১২৭১০ were purchased by Government for arrears of revenue in 1833 and 1834. The lands of one of these shares were held jointly under it and one of the others. They were separated, the two purchased shares amalgamated, surveyed and held *khās* till 1839. They were again surveyed and let in farm for 20 years at the expiry of which term a *dāimi* settlement was made in 1861 with Dhananjay Rāy of Chinamura and Sib Dulāl Tewāri of Comilla. The latter's share was subsequently let in *patni* to Rām Kānāi De, a co-sharer. The *dāimi* settled estate bears *tau*zi No. 511, the other shares of the *zamindāri* the Nos. 286-291.

There is considerable subinfeudation in these estates except No. 288. The middle rights are generally called *mirās*. There are also rent-free tenures most of them *Brahmattars* in considerable numbers. The largest numbers of middle interests are in estates 290 and 291, in which also there

are respectively 8 and 10 sets of proprietors who realize their rents separately. Middle rights extend to the 6th grade in estate No. 287. There is only one 6th grade tenure but there are several in the 5th grade. The average incidence of rents paid by occupancy *raiya*t in the several estates is as follows:—

			Rs. A. P.		
In estate No. 288	...	...	2	11	1 per acre.
" " 289	...	...	3	13	1 "
" " 290	...	...	3	14	3 "
" " 291	...	...	2	14	4 "
" " 511	...	...	3	10	4 "

At the time of the Decennial Settlement one-fifth of the *pargana* was separated in 36 *khāriju tāluks* (there are now 38 estates). The reason locally given for there being so many *tālukdars* who could claim the right to be separated is that the *pargana* was not cleared of jungle till after its neighbours: In 1794 the mail runner from Dacca was devoured by a tiger on the north side of the *pargana*. At the time of the revenue survey much jungle still remained and there is one village Mahammadpur which still contains some jungle. Just before the Decennial Settlement it is said that the *zamindārs* gave leases to certain persons who were to clear definite blocks and that it is those persons who claimed and obtained separation. The owners of some of these *tāluks* are peasant proprietors. One village Thāir-khola is covered by three estates which are entirely owned by cultivators in small shares. They cultivate their own lands and are continually engaged in disputes with one another which come before the Deputy Collector in charge of the Land Registration. The circumstances are almost unique in Tippera.

163. Mahichāil *Pargana* belonged originally to the Rāy Chaudhuri family of Karaitala. Early in the 18th century it passed into the hands of Jay Deb Rāy of Tarpāsa, in Dacca district, who appears to have been an officer employed in the Nawāb's establishment at Dacca. His son, Nara Singha Rāy, came and settled in the *pargana* about 1730 and the family afterwards moved to Barera. They are still called the Mahichāil Chaudhuris though they now live in comparative poverty. Almost all the *pargana* had been sold away piecemeal before the Decennial Settlement. There are now 34 separate estates bearing *tauzi* Nos. 149-167, 565-572 and 901-907, the minute subdivision dating back to 1815 when there was a partition. Part of the revenue of the *pargana* in the days of the Moghuls was *jāigir* devoted to assist in the maintenance of Moghul fleet. The *Nawāra Mahāl* which was resumed and separately assessed either before the acquisition of the Dewāni by the Company or shortly afterwards now bears *tauzi* No. 189. A ten annas share was purchased by Government for arrears of revenue in 1835 and after being let in farm for some 25 years was *dāimi* settled.

In the majority of the estates of the *pargana* the number of co-sharer proprietors is large and subinfeudation goes to a considerable extent in *mirās* and *dar-mirās* tenures. In the *Nawāra Mahāl* there are 17 groups of co-sharer landlords who attempt to realize rent separately. By contrast to the others estate No. 165 the largest share of the *pargana* belongs to Jagat Chandra Aich Rāy alone and there is none between him and the cultivators. There are rent-free tenures, *Brahmattars*, etc., under several of the estates jointly, but otherwise their lands are separated in small blocks interlocked in a most intricate manner. The rents paid by occupancy *raiya*t average Rs. 2-10-6 per acre in estate No. 165. In most of the other estates the middlemen have worked up the average very much higher. In the *Nawāra* estate it is Rs. 3-5-7. In estate No. 150 it reaches Rs. 4-11-9, in estate No. 153 Rs. 4-13-6, in estate No. 569 Rs. 4-12-5, in estate No. 149 Rs. 5-11-10, in estate No. 157 Rs. 6-6-5 and in estate No. 903 Rs. 6-13-7.

164. The early history of *pargana* Gopālnagar is obscure, but it is divided into three shares. one anna (now estate No. 64), seven annas (now estate No. 65) and eight annas (now estate No. 66), before the Permanent Settlement. The settlement of one anna and the eight annas shares was concluded with the same three Hindus and that of the seven annas share with a family of

Muhammadans. The *pargana* is now remarkable for the number of co-sharer proprietors in each estate. In estate No. 65 they number more than 150, and there are no less than 45 groups of them whose property is managed separately. The share of one such group is only a little more than 1-1000th. In estate No. 65 there are 23 such groups and in estate No. 66, 15. A small proportion of these groups have leased their shares in aliquot *painis* in estate No. 65 and in farm in estate Nos. 64 and 66, but otherwise there is practically no subinfeudation. The average rent of occupancy *raiyyats* in estate No. 64 is Rs. 2-9-2 per acre, in estate No. 65, Rs. 2-12-5 and in estate No. 66, Rs. 2-8-3.

165. The early history of Tappe Durgapur (now estate No. 49) cannot be traced. It passed into the hands of the Rupsā Chaudhuri family in 1841 at a revenue sale and two-thirds is still in hands of branches of the family. The remaining share belongs to Dinabandhu Guha Rāy. The Rupsā Chaudhuris, as in their property near their home east of Faridganj police-station, made settlement with all their tenants a generation back as *shikimidars* in order to raise money by the premium to be paid. Most of the *shikims* are very small, but a few of them are longer. The average rent paid by occupancy *raiyyats* is as high as Rs. 6-15-2, the high figure being explained by the fact that these *raiyyats* are often persons who would now be no more than under-raiyyats but for the promotion of the *raiyyats* to the status of tenure-holders.

166. Daudpur *Pargana* was originally part of the property of the Rājā of Tippera. The history of its separation is not to be discovered. In 1791 it stood in the names of one Mir Golām Ali Neogi (12 annas) and others. Thirty-four *khārija tāluks* were separated at the time of the Decennial Settlement and the four annas of the *zamindāri* was divided into 9 shares, only four of which remained to Muhammadans. The 12 annas share bearing estate No. 46 at present belongs to Syed Mahammadulla and others of Haybātnagar in Mymensingh and a number of persons quite unconnected with them. The number of groups of proprietors whose shares are separately managed is as many as 21. There are very numerous *brahmattar* and *jibika* rent-free tenures and very many small *shikimi tāluks*. The 9 estates of the 4 annas share belong to various persons of Sātgaon, Brāhmanbāria, etc. The estates of the *pargana* were transferred from Mymensingh to Tippera in 1820. The average rent of occupancy *raiyyats* in estate No. 46 is Rs. 2-9-5 per acre.

167. The story goes that the Emperor Akbar at Delhi received an envelope from Ishā Khān at Sonārgāon which contained what appeared to be only a blank page. Nayānanda Nāg, a clerk employed in the court, was ordered to discover its purport. He sat up over it till dusk when shining letters appeared and he was able to read them. The writing had been done with a phosphorescent fluid said to have been made from the bodies of certain worms. The message proved important and Nayānanda was rewarded with the *pargana*, which he named after himself Nayābād. His family settled at Bāradi on the western side of the Meghna, where it still has its home. At the time of the Decennial Settlement there were three equal shares commonly called the Eastern, Western and Middle shares. They were until recently estates 247, 312 and 218 of the *Tauzi* Roll. The number of the co-sharers among the Nāgs became very large. Between 1878 and 1885 several fractions from the Middle share passed to Rup Lāl Dās and Raghu Nāth Dās of Dacca, and at the beginning of this century other fractions went to *Shāhā* and *Kāyastha* families of Rāmkrishnapur, Nayāchar, Homna, etc. The *pargana* came under partition in the year 1899. The proceedings were so long drawn out that they were only completed in 1912. The three original estates became 61, the new ones being numbered 2786—2846. Besides there are 4 *dāra* estates and 45 *khārija tāluks* in the *pargana*. There are few middle rights. The current *raiyyati* rents were found often to be disputed. Their level is rather over Rs. 3-8.

168. Tappe Bārikāndi consists of a number of villages near the Meghna. They once belonged to Baradākhāt, but being unprofitable and liable to diluvion the proprietors gave them up, and one Sobharām Rāy of Bārikāndi, a Dewān of the *pargana*,

took settlement from the Viceroy at Dacca and named the property after his home. After the Permanent Settlement the bulk of the revenue was payable at Mymensingh. Rather before 1860 one Budhāi Sardār who was carrying the remittance to Mymensingh was attacked by dacoits and murdered on an island near Narsinghdi still called Budhāimāra Char. The revenue went unpaid and the property was bought at auction by Amiruddin Dāroga of Rupsādi in Nabinagar Thana who was then employed in Mymensingh. In 1864 the 7 estates of the Tappe which paid revenue to Mymensingh and the one which paid to Dacca were all transferred to Tippera where they bear the numbers 32, 122, 313, 320, 322, 335, 336 and 1124. The largest of those estates belong to the heirs of Raghu Nāth Dās of Dacca who purchased them from Amiruddin Dāroga's heirs. There are very few middle rights in the whole *pargana*. The rents paid by occupancy *raiyyats* regarding which there were many disputes are found on an average about Rs. 3-8 per acre.

169. On either side of the Meghna there is a group of small *parganas* and *tappas* the origin of which is obscure. It seems probable that being near Sonārgāon, the

The Little *Parganas*. Moghul capital, they were given to persons connected with the administration as rewards for good service. In the *pargana* map attached to this report as an appendix, the land of some of them is shown with the Foreign *Parganas* for they belong distinctly to Dacca, while others have been shown with Tappe Bārikāndi which is larger than any of them. The officers of the Revenue Survey discovered no less than 122 *parganas* in the district of Tippera, but many of them are no more than names given to distinguish different parts of properties which have never had separate histories, for example, parts of Chakla Roshnābād and Gangāmandal.

170. The following Noakhali *parganas* straggle over the border into Tippera :—Bhulua, Kānchanpur, Tappe Jaynagar, and Tappe Rānchandrapur; while Kadba which

Foreign *Parganas*. consists of a compact block round Bārura to the south-west of the Lālmāi Hills is held together with the two Noakhali *Parganas* Amirābād and Bedārābād under four joint estates bearing Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the Noakhali *Tauzi* Roll. The whole *pargana* is parcelled out in small *patnis* which were formed in 1272 B.S. and 1276 B.S. Alfred and Eugene Courjon, the owners of 8 annas each, made permanent settlements with the cultivators, taking two years' rent as *salami*. A small block on the border of Sylhet belongs to *Pargana* Bezura of that district, and a larger area on the Meghna in the north-west of Brāhmanbāria subdivision belongs to the Mymensingh *pargana* Joān Shāhi in which the most important co-sharer is the Nawāb of Dacca. A considerable area on the Meghna west and north-west of Matlab passed to the big Dacca *pargana* Rājnagar in circumstances which have been detailed. To Rasulpur *Pargana* of Dacca belong some villages in Daudkāndi *thana* and there are small blocks belonging to Bikrampur, Nurullapur, Jāfar Uziāl, Uttar Shāhapur, Tappe Ran Bhawāl, Rāmpur Noābād, Tappe Daulatpur, Khizirpur, Tappe Kamrapur, Ibrāhimpur, Mahaddipur and Tappe Rāipur. The revenue of the area in Tippera included in those Dacca *parganas* is partly paid into the Tippera Treasury. It belongs to *khārija tāluks* or shares of the *zamindaris* which have been transferred to the Tippera district. Most of the land of the Dacca *parganas* is close to the Meghna, but there are blocks belonging to Tappe Rāipur found well inland, far away from lands of any other Dacca *Pargana*.

CHAPTER V.

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents.

171. Statistics of the occupation of the land by tenants of various classes are given for each *thana* in Appendix D to this report. The figures cover as well as the area surveyed during the District Settlement Operations the areas surveyed from Dacca and Faridpur, but not the area of

Mausaur and *Māhalcār*
statistics.

Chakla Roshnābād. Statistics arranged in exactly the same form were prepared by the Settlement Officer of Dacca. The Settlement Officer of Faridpur used different forms but the necessary figures to be used in filling up this form were obtainable from them without much difficulty. Similar figures could not be derived from the statistics left by the Settlement Officer of Chakla Roshnābād. Statistics village by village and estate by estate prepared in the same form, have been collected in bound volumes and made over to the Collector, and it is to those volumes that the attention of a person interested in a particular locality or in a particular estate is directed. The figures for the number of proprietors, tenure-holders, etc., refer to the number of "interests" appearing in the record-of-rights, i.e., the number of *khatiāns* opened. More compact registers showing village by village the area held under the several estates having land in it and others showing estate by estate the area appearing in each of its villages were also prepared and handed over.

172. Most of the land recorded in the occupation of proprietors, 3·8 per cent. of the whole, is made up of small streams, paths, cattle tracks, disused tanks and such little waste land as there is which is included within the estates, for which they pay revenue but which has not been made part of any holding or included in any middle interest subordinate to them. There is nowhere in the district land which comes within the category of "proprietors' private lands known in Bengal as *khāmar, nij* or *nijjot*" to which the provision of section 116 of the Tenancy Act applies. That the area in occupation of proprietors is larger in Brahmanbaria than elsewhere is on account of the *bil* area which is not fit for cultivation.

173. The interests of rent-free tenure-holders are as many as 15,436. Such tenures are always small. Though their owners, usually high caste Hindus, often live in homesteads included in the tenures the cultivated lands which they cover are sublet to *rai-yats*. The history of the estates and the personal character of their past owners have determined the number and size of such tenures in each locality. The large majority of them were created in favour of Brāhmin priests. Such tenures are not often created nowadays nor have they been for the last half century. In Brāhmanbāria they are many, for they were created in large numbers by the old Dewāns of Sarāil. The old *zamindār* family also Muhammadans that held Baradākhāt, Gangāmandal and Pātikāra created them in considerable numbers, but the Muhammadan *zamindārs* of Honnābād created very few indeed. Temporary tenures are unimportant. They are usually held by one co-sharer under another in the same property and have been created to facilitate the collection of rent. Up till about 1860 it was common for private landlords as well as Government to farm out large blocks to save themselves the trouble of collecting rent from the cultivators, but the practice has fallen almost entirely into disuse. At the present time a farm of more than a small aliquot share of any property is hardly to be found anywhere in Tippera except in Gangāmandal estate.

The land in the direct occupation of permanent tenure-holders is 8·7 per cent. of the whole area. Such tenures are numerous all over the district. In Noakhali the number of cultivators who had been promoted to the status of tenure-holders upon payment of a premium to the landlords was found to be very large indeed. The custom by which such promotions are made extends only into the *thanas* of Tippera which adjoin Noakhali, but certain few landlords who own land in other parts of the district as well as in Noakhali and in the south adopted the same expedient to raise money in all parts of their estates. Such were the Courjon's who held *pargana* Kadba just to the south-west of the Lalmai Hills and Muhammad Gāzi Chaudhuri of Rupsa. In the centre and north of the district it is not uncommon to find Shāhās and Hindus of higher castes who are the owners of permanent tenures keeping cattle and servants and cultivating land on their own account. The incidence of tenures of various kinds will be discussed later in Part III, Chapter I of this report.

174. *Raiyats* at fixed rent hold 2'0 per cent. of the area of the district.

Land occupied by *raiya*ts. They are many more in the southernmost *thanas* of the district than elsewhere. There are a few promoted to the advantageous position of having their rent fixed in perpetuity upon payment of a premium to their landlords, but most of them have been recorded *mukarāridārs* on the presumption enjoined by section 50 of the Tenancy Act. Further north the landlords have almost always been able to rebut the presumption. *Raiyats* who hold at fixed rents generally pay a little more than ordinary occupancy *raiya*ts but those in Sarāil estate hold at very low rents. The average rent paid by *mukarāri raiya*ts in the district is Rs. 3-7-6. Settled and occupancy *raiya*ts on cash rents hold 80'6 per cent. of the total area and occupancy *raiya*ts whose rent has not yet been fixed hold another '9 per cent.

Non-occupancy *raiya*ts on cash rent hold only 4 per cent. of the total area, and of this nearly three-quarters is in the Meghna *chars* in Chandpur *thana*.

175. Produce rents are found more frequently in Tippera than in Noakhali, but are not a prominent feature of the

Produce rents. land system as in Dacca and Faridpur. Occupancy *raiya*ts paying fixed produce rents were recorded as holding only 1,215'30 acres in the whole district and others paying a share of the produce 1,986'11 acres. In certain localities up and down the Meghna and in Brāhmanbāria there are signs that the system is likely to become more common, and it is not by any means improbable that certain middlemen with an eye to the preparation of the Settlement Record were especially careful that those who cultivated their lands close to their homesteads for them should not be able to claim any rights in them. The record of *borgadars* (cultivators who pay their landlord half the produce) as *raiya*ts under middlemen in Dacca caused a great stir in that district, and along the Meghna opposite Dacca Tippera people have regular communication with those who live across the river.

176. Under-*raiya*ts without right of occupancy hold 2'1 per cent. of the total area, others with rights of occupancy 3 per

Land held by under-*raiya*ts. cent. The majority of both classes is found in Chāndpur subdivision where the soil is especially fertile and the level of *raiya*ti rents is low. Their average rate of rent is five times the *raiya*ti rate in the subdivision. Their holdings usually consist of one or two plots only and it has been necessary to record these contractual rents as the rent legally payable following the rulings of the High Court, which have limited the application of section 48 of the Tenancy Act to cases in which the under-*raiya*ti holdings are co-extensive with the *raiya*ti holdings from which they are derived.

177. The average rent per acre paid by occupancy *raiya*ts in each *thana* is as follows :—

Level of *raiya*ti rents.

					Rs. A. P.
Chāndpur	...	...	...	...	2 10 5
Matlab	...	...	...	...	2 7 5
Hājiganj	...	...	...	...	2 6 8
Chandpur subdivision	...	...	...	...	2 8 6
Comilla*	...	...	...	...	3 9 2
Chaudhagrām*	...	...	...	...	3 13 5
Laksām	...	...	...	...	3 15 5
Chāndina	...	...	...	...	3 13 2
Murādnagar	...	...	...	...	3 13 8
Daudkāndi	...	...	...	...	3 5 4
Sadar subdivision*	...	...	...	...	3 11 9
Brāhmanbāria*	...	...	...	...	2 5 11
Nabinagar*	...	...	...	...	3 10 6
Kasba*	...	...	...	...	2 8 11
Brāhmanbaria subdivision*	...	...	...	...	2 13 2

* Chakla Roshnābād is excluded.

The average rate for the whole district is Rs. 3-2-2. The average rate of rent of *raiya*t deduced from statistics compiled from the record-of-rights in a Bengal district commonly comes as a surprise to those who have had the experience of attestation of the rents during the preparation of the record. It is much lower than their experience has led them to expect. Especially is this the case in a district where the cultivators' rents are usually of long standing. On enquiry both landlords and tenants admit rates higher than those actually paid, for it is very few tenants who pay rent for the whole area in their possession. The landlords' *amins* who measure the fields and make the assessment make a regular business of taking money from the tenants as a consideration for writing their fields smaller than they really were. Frequent remeasurements tend to eliminate the area for which no rent is paid, for his master expects an *amin* to show an increase of area each time he is employed. East of the Meghna, however, remeasurements have not been frequent, although there have been more of them recently in Tippera than in Noakhali. It is the dishonesty of those who made measurements for the landlord that is the main cause of the difference between the area of a tenant's holding according to survey and according to landlords' papers. On the other hand there is no doubt that tenants in Tippera have often obtained land by encroaching upon cattle paths and perhaps by paring down the *ails* which divide field from field. The area covered by the *ails* is in any case but a very small fraction of the area of field. The extravagant allowances which landlords are sometimes found to have given in remission on account of *ails* are to be accounted for rather by the difficulty which uneducated people have of understanding the difference between linear and square measure, than by on the supposition that very wide *ails* were formerly the rule.

178. The most noticeable feature in the variations in the average rates of rent from one part of the district to another, is that the existing rate follows the capability of the land for the growing of rice. It takes no account of the suitability of the land for growing jute which is now by far the most profitable crop that a cultivator can put down. Rents rule highest in the area producing good crops of both *aus* and *aman* paddy and are current with only slight modifications since the days when jute was a crop of no account. Jute is the only instance of a crop which has been introduced on a large scale to the economy of cultivation in these parts perhaps for many centuries. Custom gave no means of adjusting rents to the changed conditions which the introduction of a new crop produced, nor is one afforded by the Tenancy Act which is based so largely upon custom. Thus it is that the profit from the spread of the cultivation of jute is not one in which the landlords directly obtain a share.

In the last chapter the average incidence of *raiya*t rents in all the most important estates has been mentioned. Its broad relations to the capacity of the land of a particular locality for growing rice has been affected very considerably by the past history of the estate in which it falls and by the manner of men its owners have been. Generally speaking these variations are to be traced back to the time before rent laws had begun to crystallize, before the passing of Act X of 1859, but that is not always the case. The level of rents in all the *dihis* into which Mehār was divided was the same when they were settled in 1847. The level in some now is three or four times as high as in others and this is due to the work of strong landlords in enhancing the rents. The very low level of rents in Torā *pargana* is due to the fact that rents were low in the early days of the last century and the reason for their not having been enhanced effectually is that there has always been a considerable number of co-sharer landlords who were not usually on good terms with one another or at least were unable to combine to raise their rents. Rents in the adjoining *pargana* Dallāi were on the same level as late as 1870, but the property passed to the single strong management of the Nawāb of Dacca with the result that though the level of rents in Dallāi is still below the average for the district it is more than 60 per cent. higher than in Torā. The effect of the introduction of middlemen upon the level of *raiya*t rents has usually been to raise it, especially when the rents to be paid by the

middlemen is not very low. A case in point is that of *pargana* Syāmpur. It is unnecessary, however, to multiply such instances as these.

179. The general level of *raiyaṭi* rents is lowest in Brāhmanbātia *thana*

Rs. 2-5-11 per acre. This is as it should be for Low rents in Chandpur subdivi- on the whole the cultivators of Brāhmanbāria sion. have fewer advantages and make less profit from their lands than those of any other part of the district. Next to Brāhmanbāria come Hājiganj Rs. 2-6-8 and Matlab Rs. 2-7-4, while in Chāndpur the average rate is only Rs. 2-10-5. The average rate throughout the remaining *thanas* is considerably higher except in the block of Kasba outside Chakla Roshnābād which belongs to the ill-managed Gangāmandal estate. The low level of rents in Chāndpur subdivision compared with that in other parts of the district is by no means as it should be. It is true that there are parts of Hājiganj *thana* only able to produce a single crop *āman* paddy. There are also new formations in Matlab and Chāndpur which are not yet fully developed, but such is the demand for land that these new formations when they belong to private landlords have usually been settled at rates higher than the average which statistics show for the two *thanas*. Even in the new formations which are *khās mahāls* the rents are as high as the average for the old land in the sub-division. The low level of rents in Chāndpur subdivision is to be explained by the calamity whatever was its cause, which sent so much of the south-western corner of the district out of cultivation during the first half of the nineteenth century, caused the demand for land there to be much less than in other parts and prevented any increases of rent until land was more sought after. The present prosperity has developed within the last 40 years with great rapidity. The level of *raiyaṭi* rents has not risen in proportion. The large Government estates in Gunānandi, Purchāndi, Singhergāon and Sakdi had been settled in farming leases for long terms. The farmers preferred to make other realization from the tenants rather than increase their rents and this met with less opposition. The estates of private landlords were much scattered and the most important families in reduced circumstances. Among the tenants were enterprising men who had come from elsewhere and brought waste lands under cultivation. They were not men whom such landlords could easily coerce. Rent laws had begun to crystallize. Rents had often been settled years before according to the number of betelnut trees which stood in the homesteads. There were no established rates of rent which could be applied to the ascertained area of a holding and the tenants clung to their rents as lump rentals the most difficult form of rent in which to introduce an enhancement. The result is that in the south-western corner, the richest in the district, rents are lower than in any other part except the lowlying north.

Raiyaṭi rates compared with those in other districts.

180. The average rate of *raiyaṭi* rent in neighbouring districts taken from the reports of Settlement Officers compare with those in

Tippera as follows :—

				Rs.	A.	P.	
Tippera	...	...	...	3	2	2	per acre.
Noakhali	...	...	...	4	4	5	"
Chittagong	...	...	...	5	0	0	"
Bakarganj	...	...	...	4	8	10	"
Faridpur	...	...	...	2	9	2	"
Dacca	...	...	...	2	13	0	"

181. Evidence as to the rents paid by cultivators before the Permanent

Level of rents in earlier times.

Settlement in Tippera as elsewhere is very meagre. The assessment was made annually upon the *raiyaṭs*. The rents were as is mentioned in the Fifth Report on the affairs of the East India Company regulated ostensibly by customary rates, but in practice the *Zamindārs* employed the device of the *ābwāb* rather than employ men to re-measure the *raiyaṭs'* holdings who would have lined their pockets at the expense of both parties. Even in the rare instances when a measurement was made an *ābwāb* had often to be put upon the rents calculated by the application of the customary rates before the landlord could realize enough to

meet the revenue demand. Duncan's report on Sandwip which has already been quoted in paragraph 110 above gives an instance in which the "Munsiff" who made a re-measurement there after well lining his own pockets produced a rent-roll no more than one-third of the revenue of the *pargana* and a "*māhtol*" (a kind of *ābwāb*) was added of Rs. 2-4-7 for every rupee of the rent-roll. After the Permanent Settlement the tenants clung to the customary rates, and it does not appear to have been generally understood that they did no more than determine the proportion between the assessment upon holdings containing lands of different classes.

182. Unlike the rents of to-day the customary rates before the Permanent Settlement varied very much with the crop grown. David Paterson giving examples of the rates recognized by the tenants in Baradākhāt in 1778 while mentioning that there were considerable variations between those in different localities gives the following example of rates for land bearing different crops in one of them :—

					Rs. A. G. K.
Cotton	...	...	...	...	1 5 13 1 per <i>kani</i> (·31 acres)
<i>Aman</i>	...	...	...	...	1 5 3 1 "
"Fusilee"	...	...	...	...	0 11 17 1 "
<i>Boro</i>	...	...	...	...	0 15 3 3 "
Sugarcane	...	...	...	...	4 3 12 0 "
"Pawn"	...	...	...	...	12 8 16 0 "

The figures after the rupees and annas are *gandas* and *karas*. These rates are higher than most which Paterson found. His rent-roll accounted for 374,840 *kānis* for which Rs. 1,68,925 was the assessment. The *raiya*t in Baradākhāt therefore paid about Re. 1-8 per acre. The assessment upon homesteads had been made as lump sums proportionate to the *raiya*t's apparent circumstances and prosperity. In Gangamandal his assessment upon the *raiya*t's was at a somewhat higher rate, about Re. 1-12-6 per acre.

183. Rates dependent on the crop grown seem early to have gone into disuse and to have been replaced by definite rates for cultivated land, for homestead and *bhiti* (high land generally used for growing trees). W. S. Alexander, Collector in 1836, wrote of Baradākhāt in the following terms :—

"The rates generally average from Rs. 2 to annas two per *kanee* for the *null* or paddy lands and from Rs. 4 to Re. 1-8 for *bhates* and habitable. I could discover no lands however denominated *Hasselah* below 10 or 12 annas per *kanee*. The lands denominated *Putteel* are exhausted lands which are suffered to remain fallow for a year or two during which period they become overgrown with a kind of grassy jungle. When required again for use the jungle is set fire to and forms a species of manure which strengthens and excites their productiveness. The lands denominated *kheelah* are also taken by the *raiya*t's at a very low rate which is regulated by the difficulties to be overcome or otherwise in bringing them into cultivation. This description of land generally averages 8 annas to 1 anna per *kanee*."

Those were days when the supply exceeded the demand for land. Alexander gives the following rates for other *parganas* :—

Gangmāndal Rs. 2-14 to 1-4 per *kani* for *nāl* and Rs. 6 to Rs. 3 for *bhiti*.
 Nurnagar Rs. 2 to annas 2 per *kani* for *nāl* and Re. 1-4 to Re. 1 for *bhiti*.
 Sarāil annas 3 to annas 8 per *kani* for *nāl* and Rs. 2 to Re. 1 for *bhiti*.
 Pātikāra Rs. 1-14 to annas 12 per *kani* for *nāl* and Rs. 3-15 to Rs. 2-12 for *bhiti*.

The figures are in terms of the Baradākhāt *kani* · 31 acres. It is mentioned that the figures have been "collected from the numerous cases of Regulation VII and Regulation V filed in this office and consequently may be depended upon", and it is added "The numerous demands made on the *raiya*t's in the shape of Akherajat, Mutthote, Nuzzuranna, etc., are not taken into calculation in the above cases." The rates are the ostensible rates agreed upon by the tenants, not rates calculated from statistics of area held and amount paid, and the figures are too vaguely stated to be of much value, but they show that definite rates for homestead lands had appeared in Baradākhāt and were in use elsewhere, and that rents in Gangamandal were higher than in neighbouring *parganas*.

184. J. F. Browne of the Revenue Survey gave figures for the rents paid in his day 1864. His rates again are ostensible rates, not rates derived from statistics. They are as follows :—

For Rice Land.

				Lowest rate of rent per <i>bigha</i> .	Highest rate of rent per <i>bigha</i> .
				Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Gangāmandal	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 10 0
Meherkul	...	...	...	1 8 0	2 4 0
Pātikāra	...	...	...	1 2 0	1 12 0
Sarāil	...	...	...	0 12 0	1 6 0
Baradākhāt	...	...	...	0 6 0	1 6 0
Dallāi	...	...	...	0 2 6	1 5 0
Nurnagar	...	...	...	0 7 0	1 2 0
Homnābād	...	...	...	0 9 6	1 0 6
Farrukhābād	...	...	...	0 6 0	1 0 0
Singhergāon	...	...	...	0 6 0	1 0 0
Gunānandi	...	...	...	0 3 6	0 10 6
Tora	...	...	...	0 6 0	0 9 6
Mahabbatpur	...	...	...	0 1 6	0 7 0
Mehār	...	...	...	0 4 9	0 6 0

The demand for land, very much greater in some parts than in others, had a great influence in those days on the rates. Mr. Browne estimated that the highest rate in Gangāmandal appropriated one-fourth of the value of the produce as rent, while in the south-west of the district, where there was more land than tenants could be found to occupy the rent was one-eleventh of the value of the produce. The rates quoted for Gangāmandal are more than double those actually paid to-day and there is no doubt that the tenants of Gangāmandal have succeeded under the rotten system of management in force in cheating the landlords out of some of their dues, but it is probable that in that *pargana* Browne's figures over-estimate what the tenants actually paid. Rents in Baradākhāt, Dallāi and Homnābād have now risen beyond those of Gangāmandal, Sarāil and Pātikāra. The powerful resident landlords of Homnābād and the powerful Nawāb of Dacca have improved their position while absentee landlords have lost by their neglect of their properties.

185. In Baradākhāt in Paterson's time the assessment on the *raiya*s was about 8 per cent. of the value of their crops. By the time of the Revenue Survey cotton as a field crop had disappeared and rent was throughout the district a higher proportion of the value of the crop although not as high a proportion as Mr. Browne thought, for he did not allow for the fact that no *raiya*t pays full rent for all his land. At the present time in an area like most of Homnābād it is 4 to 5 per cent. In an area like that of the Baradākhāt estates in which jute covers a quarter of the cultivated land, it is reduced to about 3 per cent., and in the south-west of the district where jute and betelnut trees pay the cultivators so well it is well below 2 per cent.

PART III.

The Present Operations.

CHAPTER I.

Initiation and Progress.

186. The 24 years' programme for the survey and record-of-rights of the Province presented by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India contained mention of Tippera and Noakhali. The programme obtained the general approval of the Secretary of State for India, but owing to political changes and the delay due to modifications in procedure it was not adhered to. In 1912 it was decided that the Dacca Survey Party should move on to Tippera and Noakhali. In his letter No. 476, dated 19th February 1913, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department informed the Director of Land Records of this provisional decision, and requested him, after consulting the Collectors of the two districts, to submit through the Commissioner of the Division a report with a programme and estimate of the costs of surveying and preparing the record-of-rights. This report was submitted by the Director of Land Records in the following June.* It was proposed that one settlement operation should cover the two districts, but that no fresh survey or record should be made for Chakla Roshnābād Estate No. 252 of the Tippera Roll, the river zones adjoining Faridpur, Dacca and Mymensingh, which had already been surveyed, or for Dandra *Pargana* in Noakhali and certain smaller estates which were under survey in Minor Settlement Operations controlled by the Collector of either district. The proposal was forwarded to the Government of India in August, the following five main reasons being advanced for taking these two districts next in order after those in which the survey had already begun :—

- (1) that the necessity of completing the survey and record-of-rights for the whole Presidency was accepted policy and that Tippera and Noakhali formed the only part of the easternmost portion of the Presidency that remained ;
- (2) that there was evidence that middlemen had crept in between the cultivator and the landlord usurping the occupancy rights that should belong to the cultivator ;
- (3) that the people are notoriously litigious and disputes about land readily lead to criminal acts ;
- (4) that there were questions regarding obscure and unusual rights in land that it was necessary to clear up ; and
- (5) that in Noakhali there were a large number of temporarily-settled estates which were being settled piecemeal, and it would be of great advantage to have these estates regularly surveyed and the rates prevalent in them examined by an expert staff.

As regards the areas in the two districts in respect of which a record-of-rights already existed the Government of Bengal promised†—

- (1) that the revision of the record-of-rights of the Roshnābād estate would not be undertaken without reference to the Government of India ;
- (2) that no revision in the other estates would be undertaken without reference to the Government of India if it involved any material modification in the estimates sanctioned by the Government ; and
- (3) that in no case should any share of the cost of revision be debited to the Government of India without its previous sanction.

* Director of Land Records' letter No. 3963, dated 9th June 1913, to the Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal.

† Letter of Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 1935 T.R., dated 2nd August 1913, to Revenue Secretary, Government of India.

187. In sanctioning the proposal* the Government of India decided that in the case of the revision of the record-of-rights in estates for which a record was already in existence no part of the costs should be borne by the Government of India, but the whole costs should be borne by the landlords and tenants (or by the Local Government as usual where a revision of revenue was also made). Notifications Nos. 2639-40 T.—R., dated 11th October 1913, were published for the survey and the preparation of a record-of-rights for all lands within the administrative boundaries of the two districts with exception of lands comprised in Chakla Roshnābād.

Instructions regarding areas to be excluded.

188. As regards the areas for which a record-of-rights already existed the instructions given to the Director of Land Records† were—

- (1) that a further enquiry should be made before it was decided whether Chakla Roshnābād should be re-surveyed ;
- (2) that *pargana* Sarāil should be re-surveyed ;
- (3) that *pargana* Niz Sandwip (in Noakhali) and the river zones surveyed from Faridpur and Dacca should not be re-surveyed ;
- (4) that the petty estates should be resurveyed, but that the Director of Land Records was authorized to omit any petty estate which had been recently surveyed if the survey and record were considered sufficiently satisfactory.

In passing on these instructions to me the Director gave two lists A and B of estates which it was proposed to re-settle and omit respectively. The basic principle of list B was to omit from resettlement all estates which had recently come under the petty settlements except a few which it was inadvisable to omit because of their scattered area and the fact that they were so small or so intermingled with other estates that it was almost impossible to omit them. Recent petty settlements in Tippera had only covered very small estates and it was only Noakhali estates that were included in the list B. Finally I was to make a careful investigation regarding Chakla Roshnābād.

189. Within the river zones which had been made the subject of a record-of-rights by the Settlement Officers of Faridpur and Dacca there were certain temporarily-settled estates, both *khās mahāls* and the property of private persons, which were not ripe for the revision of their assessment at the time of the Faridpur or Dacca operations. There were other estates of the same nature which had fallen partly within the zones and partly without. Reassessment upon such of these estates as were ripe for re-settlement or would be ripe before the end of the year 1920-21 was taken up. This involved the necessity of revision of the record prepared for those parts of the estates which fell within the zones. The work was taken up from the stage of *bujhārat* and in any village the blocks belonging to these estates only were dealt with. The notification under section 102 of the Tenancy Act, as it only excluded estate No. 252 Chakla Roshnābād, required no modification to allow of the revision. The decision regarding Chakla Roshnābād was not reached until the end of the first season's field-work in Noakhali. Some of the old maps of villages of Thana Chhagalnāia (Noakhali) were taken out into the field and checked on the spot by means of "Partial lines", and field-to-field *bujhārat* was made of four villages, to obtain an impression as to the present value of the old maps and records. In Appendix VII to this report will be found a copy of the report of this enquiry upon which it was definitely decided that Chakla Roshnābād should not be re-surveyed or the record revised. Joār Pālpāra, a block of five villages of Gangamandal *pargana* was surveyed by the settlement party under Mr. J. G. Cumming which prepared the record for Chakla Roshnābād. The question whether to exclude this small block, which lies a few miles south-east of Elliotganj well away from Roshnābād, was

* Letter of Secretary, Government of India, No. 1337-344-2, dated 30th August 1913.

† Letter of Revenue Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 1347 T.—R., dated 28th October 1914, to Director of Land Records, Bengal.

settled by the proprietors asking that a fresh record should be prepared. A group of villages called the Alokdia Mahāl, part of Chakla Roshnābād, had been the subject of a record-of-rights a few years before Mr. Cumming began the survey of the whole estate and were excluded from his operations. The old record did not share the good reputation of Mr. Cumming's record and was nearly 30 years old. One revenue survey unit belonging to Chakla Roshnābād was mapped and a record prepared by Mr. Cumming, but the area lay in Comilla town and the record was not finally published. The opinion at that time was that the Tenancy Act was not applicable in a municipal area. This was before the passing of Act I of 1907 which amended section 1 (3) of the Tenancy Act in such a way as to make it clear that the Act was applicable in municipal areas except certain which were definitely excluded from its operation by a notification on this behalf by the Local Government. Estate No. 252 having been definitely excluded by the original notification under section 102 this area and Alokdia Mahāl were taken up under a special notification No. 827 L.R., dated 23rd January 1919. Within the ambit of Chakla Roshnābād it was found that there was a number of small properties belonging to estates other than No. 252 of the Tauzi Roll, resumed *tākheraj* properties and the like. These were surveyed except one such small estate which had been the subject of a record-of-rights completed some six years before. As it was isolated among property of estate 252 and as the proprietors did not wish for a fresh record the estate was ultimately excluded as were also two small blocks of roadside land along to the Dacca-Chittagong Trunk Road which were ripe for re-settlement before it would have been convenient for the District Settlement party to deal with them. As the two were located far from any other property than that belonging to estate 252 the Collector proceeded with their measurement and reassessment. For the information of the courts, for example in the matter of the applicability of section 111 of the Tenancy Act, and of the general public, notification No. 827 L. R., dated 23rd January 1919, was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* making it clear what areas in Tippera and Noakhali were excluded from the district settlement operations. It has been reprinted and will be found in Appendix VI(b) to this report.

190. The area surveyed in Tippera and Noakhali was divided into four blocks to be taken up in four successive years. The first block comprised the eastern and central part of Noakhali district. The second block included the rest of Noakhali and two *thanas* of Tippera, Hājiganj and Chāndpur, the portion of the latter surveyed from Faridpur being excluded. The third block stretched from a little north of Chāndpur to the northern extremity of the district and included *thanas* Matlab, Daudkāndi, Nabinagar, Kasba and Brāhmanbāria, the strips along the Meghna surveyed from Faridpur and Dacca being excluded as was also the part of Chakla Roshnābād in *thanas* Nabinagar, Kasba and Brāhmanbāria. The third block also included the small remaining block of *thana* Kasba outside Chakla Roshnābād. The fourth block in the centre of the district completed the programme and included *thanas* Murādnagar, Chāndina, the portions of Comilla and Chaudhagrām outside Roshnābād, and Laksām.

The following statement in tabular form shows when each stage of the preparation of the record-of-rights in Tippera was carried out :—

	Traverse.	Cadastral survey. <i>khānapur t bujhārat.</i>	Attestation.	Objections.	Final publication.	
<i>Thana</i> Hājiganj and <i>thana</i> Chāndpur excluding strip surveyed from Faridpur	1914-15	November 1915 to June 1916.	November 1916 to June 1917.	April to October 1917.	July to December 1918.	Included in the second block of the operations.
<i>Thanas</i> Matlab, Daudkāndi, Nabinagar, Brāhmanbāria and Kasba excluding strip surveyed from Faridpur and Dacca and Chakla Roshnābād.	1915-16	November 1916 to June 1917.	November 1917 to June 1918.	February to October 1918.	November 1918 to April 1919.	The third block of the operations; 100 square miles attested ahead of programme between July and October 1917. Record not finally published in Brāhmanbāria <i>thana</i> yet (August 1919). The fourth block of the operations; attestation taken up ahead of programme as soon as <i>bujhārat</i> finished.
<i>Thanas</i> Murādnagar, Chāndina, Laksām, and Comilla and Chaudhagrām excluding Chakla Roshnābād.	1916-17	November 1917 to June 1918.	June 1919 to February 1919.	November 1918 to April 1919.	Final publication begun July 1919.	

There remain about four square miles which were traversed, cadastrally surveyed and for which *khanapuri*, *bujharat*, attestation and objections were completed between November 1918 and June 1919. Two square miles were the Alokdia *Mahal* of Chakla Roshnābād which had been excluded from Mr. Cumming's settlement and the rest consisted of small blocks belonging to other estates, properties within the ambit of the Chakla Roshnābād.

The programme, upon which the original estimates prepared for this settlement were based, was that the attestation of the last block should be carried out between October 1918 and June 1919, that the disposal of objections should occupy the next few months and that final office work and printing should continue until the autumn of 1920. The estimates provided for the pay of the Settlement Officer until September 1921 during which time final publication of the record should be completed and his final report submitted. The fact that the last block, most of it, was comparatively high land, and comprised an area in which attestation of the record could well be carried on through the rainy season, pointed to the possibility of speeding up the later stages of the operation. There were presses enough and to spare as soon as the printing of the Dacca record was finished, and arrangements were made to take over enough of them to print the record of each block in nine or ten months instead of a year. The fact that no cess revaluation was to be done in Tippera as in Noakhali facilitated the arrangements for accelerating the last stages of the operation. In the third block attestation of about a hundred square miles was carried out ahead of the programme before the Puja holidays of 1917. Objections under section 103A were disposed of and the final scrutiny of the record completed in the spring of 1918 in enough villages to give the press records to print out of the third block beginning from July of that year. Attestation of the fourth block proceeded in full swing immediately after the *bujhārat* season.

The adjustment of the programme proved to have been nicely made. There was a little anxiety in June and July 1918 to obtain records from the third block to feed the press and again in January and February 1919 to obtain records for it from the fourth block. The press is a voracious creature and liable to a sudden collapse if its appetite is not continually and immediately satisfied. Had the compositors at any moment found that there was not enough work to keep them fully employed, working as they were at contract rates, they would have been so discouraged that it would have taken months to raise the outturn again to its old figure. The calamity was however avoided and the completion of the final record was actually reached a full year ahead of the original programme. In the last block there were villages in which the record-of-rights was finally published no more than 20 months after the commencement of the cadastral survey. Not only was there an important financial economy obtained by this acceleration of the programme in saving the heavy expenditure involved in retaining the supervising staff, but the more promptly they got their printed copies the more did the tenants appear to appreciate them.

A record-of-rights is like a snapshot photograph. More elaborate methods of judicial procedure and less brevity in the expression of its conclusions might remove some defects, but such "touching up" would take much time and cost much money. Half the pleasure to be obtained from a snapshot photograph comes from seeing it as shortly as possible after it is taken. So the value of the record in the eyes of the tenants is much enhanced if it is promptly completed.

191. The traverse survey of Tippera was uniformly good. The Director of Surveys had much less than normal

Traverse survey. programmes of traverse survey in the seasons in which his subordinates worked in Tippera. He was able to discharge many of them, and as he naturally retained his best men the work done was better than usual. Traverse was good and sufficient. The only complaint there was to make was that, when the traverse was done late in the season, the traverser, forgetting that cadastral survey would be begun much early in the next year, sometimes placed his stations in the dry beds of streams which were found full of water in November and December following. There had apparently been some difficulty in closing on the stations of the area,

surveyed by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur in the north of Chāndpur *thana*. and in closing the northernmost main circuit and connecting across the Meghna with stations in Mymensingh, for there had obviously been corrections distributed along a series of stations at these two points, but otherwise no mistakes were discovered.

Cadastral Survey.

192. Practically the whole of the area to which the settlement opera-

Kistcār.

tion extended was surveyed on the scale of 16-inch to the mile. Here and there a market or similar locality where the plots were peculiarly small, was surveyed on a large scale and plotted on the margin of a village map with a reference to show its position in the interior in the map, but such a contrivance was only necessary in a few cases and for small blocks. The one case in which whole sheets were prepared on a larger scale than 16-inch to the mile was that of the centre of Brāhmanbāria Municipality where several sheets were prepared on the scale of 32-inch to the mile. The district contains two other towns only, Chāndpur and Comilla. Chāndpur fell with the strip surveyed from Faridpur and Comilla is within Chakla Roshnābād.

The area of the second block in Tippera. 360 square miles, was divided into 31 *halkas* arranged in five circles. In the third block, 745 square miles, there were 59 *halkas* in ten circles and in fourth block 707 square miles, 55 *halkas* in nine circles. Each *halka* was in charge of a *kānango* under whom the number of *āmins* employed was usually ten. The survey did not as a rule prove difficult. In the southern part of the district homesteads are to be found scattered all over the face of the country-side. Towards the north the tendency is more apparent for the homesteads to stand collected together where the level is a little higher than in the surrounding open stretches. Especially in the south-west every homestead is buried in the foliage of betelnut, cocoanut and fruit-bearing trees and bamboos. There some sheets took the *āmins* a long time in running "*murabba*" lines as they are called forming the basis upon which depend the subsidiary lines by which the details and field boundaries are plotted. The betelnut trees are often very closely planted but it was found that the difficulty of running survey lines through them was by no means as great as might have been expected. Every tree grows exactly perpendicular, the gardens are well kept and there is very little under-growth. The *āmins* found therefore that they could see their flags for a surprising distance among the tree stems. The thickly packed *basti* sites with few trees or none, standing on the small available strips of comparatively high land in the lowlying parts of the district, proved a more serious obstacle to easy survey. On the other hand, the open spaces offered no difficulty whatsoever. There were no impediments to be cleared away and no ingenuity on the part of the *āmins* was required before their lines could be run. Traverse in the densely wooded areas and indeed everywhere in Tippera proved good from the point of view of the convenience of the cadastral surveyors. It followed the village boundaries closely and subtraverse lines were frequent and well placed. *Kānungos* were instructed to compensate an *āmin* who had finished the survey of a particularly difficult sheet by giving him afterwards an especially easy one and *vice versa*. By such an arrangement it was possible to avoid the necessity of paying, in fairness to the *āmin*, extra fees for difficult sheets anywhere in the district except in Brāhmanbāria town and in the Māinamati Hills.

193. There was really no more difficulty in surveying the Māinamati Hills than in the survey the open parts of such a

The Māinamati Hills.

district as Hazāribāgh, for all the heavy jungle has been removed by Tipperas who chopped the wood up and sold it for firewood in Comilla. Most of the Tipperas have left for the Tippera Hills finding that there is not wood enough left to enable them to earn a livelihood in that way. Such survey was however new to the *āmins*. They had never done anything of the sort before and were afraid to try. The

hills are nowhere as much as a hundred feet above the level of the plains but their outline is often very rugged. The slopes of the central table land and the sides of the numerous hammocks towards both ends of the range, which are very aptly described by their local appellation "*mura*" the same word as for a cane-stool, are very steep indeed. An *āmin* not used to the process of "cutting the chain" found that the total lengths of his lines did not agree with those shown on the sheet. It was new to him also to find in chaining along a line that he sometimes dipped into a hollow so that he could not see the mark at either end. Some of the sheets were taken by *āmins* who left them in despair and ran away. Those who were not dismayed by the strange conditions, who preserved and finished their sheets, did very well in fees, for they were paid at higher than the usual rates, the rate for each sheet being fixed by myself after seeing the progress of the work, and examining the country included. The Circle Officer in whose area most of the hills fell was a young Sub-Deputy Collector new to the work, who did not tackle it with as much energy as he might have shown. One of the *kānungos* took up much the same attitude as the *āmins*. He did nothing to help them in the few hill sheets in his *halka* and on my inspection on one occasion I discovered that he had drawn two lines purporting to be *partāl* lines on the map without having actually chained along them. His hill sheets were taken from his jurisdiction and the survey personally controlled by the Technical Advisor who made an investigation into what the *kanungo* had been doing with the result that he was degraded. During the whole of my experience in settlement work, I have never found a *kānungo* to have shirked his work as this man did in the hill sheets. His work in the plains was regular and satisfactory and he had always had a good reputation. The novel conditions in the hills seem to have upset his balance altogether as it did that of some of the *āmins*. Lack of perseverance in the face of novel difficulties is perhaps a characteristic failing of some of his countrymen and his brother officers and some of his superiors were inclined to sympathize with him, but it is a *kānungo's* duty to superintend and check the work of his *āmins*. His false *partāl* lines were shown dishonestly on the sheets and he fully deserved his punishment.

194. The difficulty in *bil* areas is usually that the work cannot be started

Difficulties in *bil* sheets.

until very late in the season, while *khanapuri* and *bujhārat* have to be finished early, for the area will go under water after the first rains. This was the difficulty in the third block. The lowest-lying parts of a village had sometimes to be left aside, *khanapuri* of the rest pushed on and the sheets sent for area extraction leaving the lowest portions to be surveyed immediately before *bujhārāt*. The bed of a *bil* in other parts is generally found to be quite flat and the plots large. Often in the north of Tippera that was not so. The beds of some of the Brāhmanbāria *bils* are very uneven, containing curiously shaped pockets and winding hollow places filled with *boro*-paddy while the rest produces nothing but reeds and coarse grass. The *boro* plots were difficult of survey, a very large number of offsets being necessary to pick up all the bends in their boundaries. When the bed of the *bil* was more level the *boro* plots were often small and the boundaries between them either ill-determined or made by irregular heaped up *ails* composed of decayed aquatic weeds which had been taken off the ground before the *boro* was planted. In places the *āmins* difficulties were increased by the softness of the mud in which the *boro* was planted. Occasionally tracts were met with positively dangerous to cross, where the cultivators push themselves about on the mud on plantain trees in order to transplant the seedlings. Not so much in Brāhmanbāria *thana* as a little further south a large crop of disputes seemed imminent over the *khatīs*, cup-shaped artificial hollows in the middle of the *bils* used for catching fish. As the water-level falls the fish move towards hollows of this kind and are easily taken. Generally the villagers in groups paid small sums to the landlords for the fishing rights and made ready these *khatīs*. These payments were not part of the rents of their holdings. They gave them no more right than to catch fish. The *khatīs* were usually too small to be shown clearly on the 16-inch maps; possession of them for fishing purposes was very often disputed between one group of villagers' and another; and such possession was

by no means permanent. It was ultimately decided to give up the attempts which had first been made to survey *khatis* and show them separately on the map, and the villagers' individual rights in them were not recorded as the record hardly seemed to be one which could authoritatively be made under the Tenancy Act. In other districts such, for instance, as Rajshahi it is common to find that a landlord has leased out to a tenant a certain area without definite boundaries in a *bil* which never dries up sufficiently for him to take possession, and that the tenant has taken settlement as a speculation intending to claim the area when the *bil* dries enough for him to do so. Such cases were not found common in Tippera although there were a few such. The record in these cases followed rule 25 of the Director of Land Records' Technical Instructions, Chapter III, *Khānapuri*.

195. In the first season in Noakhali 14 new *kānungos* were employed but they were not employed the second season

An experienced staff.

when the operations which were on the point of starting in Jessore were postponed, and the number of Settlement Parties at work in the province reduced by one. The third season the work in Jessore was not taken up, Rajshahi Settlement had only a small block for survey and this Settlement was therefore the only one in the Province which had a full survey programme. The *kānungo* establishment was reduced by weeding out the less efficient and discharging them temporarily, and the result was that in its third season this Settlement had a better staff of *kānungos* than has ever been brought together in Bengal before, or is likely to be brought together again for a long time to come. For similar reasons the staff of Assistant Settlement Officers and Revenue Officers employed in charge of circles at the time of cadastral survey, was an experienced one. There were no Assistant Settlement Officers new to the work in any of the first three seasons except the Munsifs, who were sent two each year for training for 20 months. Of the five Munsif Assistant Settlement Officers, who were so sent and employed in Tippera two proved themselves exceedingly capable officers and the remaining three did work quite as good as would be expected from officers of the Subordinate Executive Service of average capacity. In the second season the area surveyed in Tippera was in charge of Mr. Lethbridge. After that Government was unable to depute other Charge Officers of the Indian Civil Service on account of so many officers having gone to Military Service. According to the original programme there were to have been two Indian Civil Service Charge Officers each season, but only Mr. Pringle was sent and for only one month in 1918. Not only do *kānungos* and Circle Officers prefer to work and do work better under an Indian Civil Service Charge Officer than under another, but the services of the Indian Civil Service Officers are according to my experience far more valuable. Their absence went far to counteract the advantage, which the experience and good quality of the intermediate staff gave.

196. Noakhali and Tippera, especially the former, have been the source

The *āmins*.

from which other settlements have drawn many of their best *āmins*. They are men trained in the Roshnābād and Chittagong Settlements, and, though most of the original men have now dropped out of the ranks, their places have been taken by their children and relatives whom they have trained up from boyhood. Previous experience in other districts had taught me to look on the Noakhali *āmins* as the best Bengali *āmins* to be obtained. As many perhaps come from Jessore, but they are not nearly such good workers. They are often sickly and always ready to make their living by other means than their legitimate employment. The second year's selection of *āmins* was better than the first, for Mymensingh Settlement had finished its field-work and Jessore was not taken up, and the third year, when Rajshahi, the only other settlement having field-work to be done, had only a small programme, two thousand *āmins* came to Comilla on the day after the *Puja* holidays, although only some 500 had been summoned and only 700 were required. That year very few *āmins* who were not really good workers were employed. Jessore and Bankura settlements were started the fourth season, but the Noakhali *āmins* seems to have preferred to come here and the 600 selected, although not so good as the year before, on the whole a good lot.

197. From the beginning the rule was insisted on that no "offset" was to be taken more than 100 links from the chain-line.

Method of survey.

All the superior staff combined in showing the *āmins* that this was not intended as an arbitrary rule only. Over and over again it was explained to the *āmins* that by placing the chain-lines close to the field boundaries so as to pick up bends and corners, not only was accuracy ensured but much time saved, for it is not in pulling the chain that time is spent, but in waiting for the man with the pole to go to a corner at a distance from the chain-line, manipulating the offset square, and waiting again for him to measure back to the chain. The orientation of the fields and the continuity of the line of "ails" along their short ends are peculiarities probably no more marked in Noakhali and Tippera than in other parts of the Province, but full advantage had not been taken of them before. Each one of the *kānungos* and superior staff must have many times shown an *āmin* on the ground how he could best take advantage of them in placing the flags from which to run his chain-lines. The *āmins* proved quick to see the advantage and to learn. A few, understanding only the rule of short offsets and nothing more, took to drawing false "*shikimi*" lines on the maps, and it became necessary to insist on a mark with a *kodāli* being left on the ground where a chain-line crossed a boundary, but those few were either learnt ultimately or were weeded out gradually, and it became the usual thing to find that an *āmin* had surveyed nearly all the open area of his sheets with offsets not more than 30 or 40 links, and that the general average of progress had decidedly quickened rather than the reverse. The accuracy of which the average Settlement *āmin* is capable has improved out of all comparison since I first entered the Settlement Department at the end of 1910. The rule, originally put into force in Mymensingh, was insisted upon by which only the "*khākā*", a sheet of paper with the position of the traverse marks roughly indicated on it, was at first given to the *āmin*. He had to measure the traverse lines and divide the village into "*murabbas*" (quadrilaterals) by lines from one traverse line to another without seeing the actual sheet. The *kānungo* himself was required to check the *āmin's* measurements on the sheet and to divide it into quadrilaterals. The rule makes sure of a correct basis for the *āmin's* field survey. It throws the whole responsibility for any mistake in that basis upon the *kānungo*.

198. A high average of "*partāl*", check lines run across the sheets by *kānungos* or superior officers, was maintained.

Check of the sheet.

Fifty chains per hundred acres, i.e. 3.2 linear miles per square mile surveyed was required in every *halqa*, but energetic *kānungos* vied with one another to do more. In the first block 3.76 linear miles were run for every square mile surveyed, in the second block 4.0, in the third 4.25 and in the fourth 4.44 miles. Proper distribution of *partāl* moreover was required. Some *kānungos* were found too fond of leaving the *āmin* almost to finish his sheet and then running several long lines of *partāl* the same day on the same sheet. Others were inclined to shirk the difficulty of running *partāl* lines through the parts of the sheet containing homesteads and gardens. Circle Officers and Charge Officers were required to pay particular attention to the distribution of *partāl* according to both place and time. The character and extent of the corrections made upon *partāl*, the experience of the *kānungos* at *bujhārat* and the Attestation Officers, the field inspection of superior officers and the criticisms which have been made by the Director of Surveys from time to time show that the care which was taken at the stage of *kistwār* has been well repaid in the accuracy of the maps. Coming from settlement work in Nator subdivision in Rajshahi, I was able to appreciate the great advantage which comes from the staff being able to work continuously without interruptions caused by malarial fever, which was met with in Tippera only in a small part of the last block. Altogether Tippera-Noakhali Settlement has had advantages which no Bengal Settlement has had before or will have again for a long time to come, and it would have been a matter for regret if the maps had not been as good and as accurate as such maps are ever likely to be, until a method of projection and rectification is invented which will enable cadastral maps to be prepared by photographing from the air.

199. At the beginning of each season a few cultivators objected to the survey being started before their paddy was cut, and said that the *āmins* were doing more harm than they need, but *kānungos* and Circle Officers took care to see that this was not allowed to be so and no real harm was done anywhere. In the second season it seemed that there was some disaffection over the starting of the work fomented apparently by non-agriculturalists in Chāndpur, but it soon disappeared. In the third block the people of Brāhmanbāria showed at first marked hostility, perhaps remembering the ways of *āmins* from the time of the Sarāil Settlement, and their opposition took the form of instituting criminal cases against the Settlement staff. The attitude taken up by the Subdivisional Officer did not help matters. In one case on receiving the complaint he issued process against an *āmin* for an alleged petty assault without informing any of the latter's superiors and without any preliminary enquiry. The complaint afterwards proved to be false, but the Subdivisional Officer's action for the moment put a stop to survey work in that village and in those near by. In another village a *kānungo* had gone to run a *partāl* line. While engaged in his work he gave his pony to a cultivator to hold. The man let it go. It began to graze and when the *kānungo* had finished what he was doing he saw the villagers setting off with it to the pound. He fetched it back and the result was a "cattle rescue" case. A complaint was made against another *kānungo* that he had used insulting language. Though the *kānungo* was one of the most senior, a man educated at Aligarh College, the Subdivisional Officer sent the petition of complaint to the local *panchayat*, a man who could barely read and write, to hold an enquiry. This complaint also proved false and there were others. Later in the season two *kānungos* were assaulted and there were several instances of bricks being thrown upon their tents at night. The people of Brāhmanbaria are more truculent than further south, but their hostility to the *āmins* ceased after the first few weeks. Probably they found they had little reason to fear exactions by them. In the last block there was no hostility from any. Throughout the district complaints that *āmins* had taken money were very few indeed. That they seemed to devote all their energies to their work and made such excellent progress with it, pointed to their dependence upon their fees. It may have been partly because the Tippera cultivators are far from unsophisticated and quite unready to give something for no tangible return, but I believe that the amount of cash realized by *āmins* from villagers and put into their own pockets was very small indeed. *Amins* must often have got their food or some of their food given to them, for the cultivating classes are not by any means inhospitable to strangers and are always ostentatious in such matters, but it certainly seems that the *kānungo* system has successfully muzzled the ox that treadeth out the corn.

200. In Tippera there existed maps prepared by Mr. Chandra showing the jurisdiction of the Revenue *thanas* and lists of *mauzas* included within such jurisdiction. The villages shown separately in Mr. Chandra's map were almost always Revenue Survey units. The Revenue Survey *mauza* was sometimes an artificial unit at the time of that survey, and the adoption of the word "*mauza*" by the Revenue Survey authorities undoubtedly produced certain misunderstandings at the time. The word formerly conveyed the meaning, a parcel of the same property isolated among others or a subdivision into which such a block was divided. It does not appear that before the Revenue Survey it was used to signify an agglomeration of portions of originally separate estates included within the same periphery. Whatever may have been the state of things at the time of the Revenue Survey or immediately after it, the Revenue Survey "*mauza*" had become a very well-established and recognized unit long before the Settlement Operations began. In the present operation the units adopted have in almost every case been the *mauzas* according to Mr. Chandra's lists. To cover the few changes which were made Notification No. 1361 L. R., dated 9th February 1917 was issued adopting the units of the present survey as "villages" within the meaning of the Tenancy Act.*

* C. J. Bengal Tenancy Act, section 3 (10) (b).

Government's decision to give up the Revenue *thāna* altogether, and in the record-of-rights to number the villages in a separate serial for the jurisdiction of each police-station did not come until the operations in Tippera were well advanced. Moreover the jurisdiction of police-stations has been in a state of flux for the last few years in this district and changes are likely to continue until the new fourth Subdivision becomes established. The Director of Land Records therefore approved of the proposal that the numbering of the villages should remain by Revenue *thanas* following Mr. Chandra's list. How great is the advantage of having the *mauzas* numbered in serial order from the beginning of the operations has made itself apparent at every stage. Great confusion, and endless labour to rectify it, is the result of changing the serial numbers given to the villages when the record is approaching completion. Mistakes in "*barāt* references", cross references between *khatīāns* in which are recorded the same tenure or holding extending to more than one village, are much less likely to appear in the record if the same number has been used for the same village from the earliest stage to the end. Usually it was found that the Revenue Survey village names were in present use. In a few cases other names had appeared and when that had happened the name best known in the locality was chosen to be entered in the record-of-rights. When there were found to be two villages of the same name close together they were distinguished by adding "East" and "West", "Big" and "Little" or some such epithets to their names. This was not, however, done wherever two villages of the same name appeared in the same *thana*. If they were so far apart that there was little fear of confusion between them, or that such epithets added would appear to local people unnecessary and meaningless, no attempt was made to differentiate between them in name.

201. In the first two blocks of the Settlement the Traverse Party used stones, rough triangular prisms, to mark the traverse trijunction stations of the villages and bamboo pegs to mark other traverse stations. In Noakhali district selected traverse stations roughly 2 miles apart, were demarcated by means of earthenware cylinders. In the third and fourth blocks the traversers used such cylinders to mark all traverse trijunctions, and, so that uniformity might be preserved throughout the area surveyed in Tippera, all the triangular stones which had been used in Chāndpur and Hājiganj *thanas*, falling in the second block, were replaced with earthenware cylinders by the *kānungos* at the time of *bu-hārat*.

202. It was a Surveyor-General of Egypt who said that the antiquity of some of the field boundaries there is commensurable with the age of the Pyramids themselves. The agriculturalist is proverbially conservative the world over and the Bengali cultivator certainly shows himself no exception. It is the practice of the Bengali cultivator to mark his field boundaries with *ails* so effectually that away from the immediate vicinity of active rivers there is no natural phenomenon able to obliterate them. Proverbially too no shifting of any of his boundaries by his neighbours is allowed to go unnoticed or unquestioned. A fight or a suit in court is the normal result of an encroachment even by a few inches. Cultivation in Bengal has been extended very much during the century-and-a-half of British occupation, while it has been established in Lower Egypt since the dawn of history, but it is now as obviously a fact that cultivation occupies every available inch in such a district as Tippera as it is in Lower Egypt, and *a priori* there is, therefore, no reason to except that field boundaries in Tippera will prove themselves less stable than there. As the corollary conclusion is that marks less permanent than the Tombs of the Pharaohs will serve no useful purpose, and that the large expenditure which is annually made on demarcating village trijunctions where a cadastral survey is being carried out is sheer waste, some further investigation should perhaps be made.

203. The Revenue Survey party which took up Tippera and Noakhali in 1861-64 was the last in the plains of Bengal and Bihar to finish work except the party which took up Midnapur. The method and the work of the *thāk* surveyors improved as the survey of the

Demarcation of village trijunctions.

Value of such demarcation questioned.

Comparison of old maps with the new leads to the same conclusion.

Province went on. Their maps for Tippera were all made with the use of the prismatic compass. In some *parganas* the estates are so interlocked that the number of *chaks* in the maps is very large. Yet as is mentioned again in paragraph 212 below, the Settlement staff were able so to fit the maps on those prepared during the cadastral survey as to identify almost every line in the *thāk* with an existing field boundary. During the eight seasons in which I have supervised cadastral survey work and field *bujhārāt* I have always found the *thāk* comparison very interesting and partly for my own amusement have made something of a hobby of it. Though the *thāk* map of a village with many estates in it at first sight seems to show that the lie of the fields has considerably changed, closer examination shows that apparent discrepancies are due to the unreliable method of survey employed by the *thāk āmin*. It is almost always possible on comparison of the *thāk* with the new maps to discover what the *thāk āmin* meant to survey and identify it unmistakably with existing field boundaries.

During the progress of the Tippera-Noakhali Settlement certain areas were resurveyed which had already been the subject of proceedings under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The largest of these areas was Sarāil *Pargana*, others were blocks in Jugidia and Bedarābād *parganas* in Noakhali, Joār Pālpāra of Gangāmandal and a number of blocks not permanently-settled. In all these cases the comparison between the new and old maps was made. The maps of Sarāil *Pargana* covering most of Brahmānbāria *thana* dated from 1889 and were thus nearly 30 years old. The record-of-rights had a bad name from the moment it was completed, but the comparison showed that changes in the position of field boundaries between the time when the maps were made and the present are very few. Even in the low-lying areas, where there are none of the high solid *āils* commonly found elsewhere in Tippera, the field boundaries have shifted scarcely at all. Similar comparison of the maps of other previous surveys and the new maps showed that, except where fluvial action had wiped out all traces of former divisions, the likeness between them was very striking indeed. As has already been mentioned an investigation was made in *thana* Chhagalnāia of Noakhali into the necessity or otherwise of preparing a fresh map and record for Chakla Roshnābād and the report of that investigation is to be found in Appendix VII. In Roshnābād it is the rule that *āils* are raised and solid. Investigation showed no signs of their having shifted in the least in the twenty years since the Roshnābād maps were prepared. Tippera is a district where partition proceedings have been many. The maps prepared in the course of such proceedings were not always very accurate but comparison between them and new maps showed no signs of much shifting of field boundaries. Such discrepancies as are found usually come from distortion due to inaccuracy in the old traverse.

In Chittagong the Settlement staff had often to compare old surveys with the new. The old surveys in the case of that district, the first of which was made in 1764, had generally been prepared by the methods of the country and there had been considerable extension of cultivation, but the reading of the Settlement Officer's report does not convey the impression that apart from extension of cultivation there had been much shifting of field boundaries. The *Maghi* Survey (1835-37) was a plane table survey only in one block of villages known as Anwāra. During a recent visit to Chittagong I took the opportunity of comparing the maps of the *Maghi* Survey of some of those villages with the maps of the Chittagong District Settlement and found the likeness between them very close indeed. Settlement Officers in other districts in Bengal do not seem to have had much opportunity of comparing new maps with old. Where they have had such comparison to do it, it has generally happened to be in areas temporarily-settled, which are usually near large rivers and subject to rapid changes brought about by fluvial action. Further afield there have been "Revision Settlements" in Orissa and in Bihar. According to the Bihar rules the *āmin* is instructed to use old traverse stations if he finds them without having to dig for them, but he is first to test the position of each by measurement from at least three field corners, and the rules contemplate that most of the check and revision of the maps shall be done on the basis of "adopted stations," the

corners of *pucca* houses or bridges, which however are few, and the corners of fields, especially corners in which four fields meet. What has been found the most satisfactory procedure for revisional survey in Bihar therefore seems to point in the same direction as my conclusion reached in Tippera, that there as in Tippera the field boundaries are sufficiently stable to make the demarcation of traverse stations unnecessary. The use of a mark so easily destroyed as the earthenware cylinders which are at present used certainly appears to be of little value. Near a big river it is very useful to have marks, but if the river attacks them nothing can save any mark that could be built, and a deposit of sand may in a few days bury a cylinder only a few inches above the ground. A fraction of the present expenditure upon the demarcation of traverse trijunctions inland would provide a series of marks along the banks of active rivers which would survive all but direct attacks of the river and serve a useful purpose. The present expenditure is waste, and may do more harm than good in tempting private persons and Civil Court Commissioners to try by their own methods to relay the plots of a Settlement map from a fixed point instead of using field boundaries in their immediate vicinity.

204. Disputes regarding village boundaries were not of much importance in Tippera. They usually referred to paths, small streams, tanks and small patches of unoccupied land that happened to fall on the boundary between one village and another. The total number of disputes of this nature filed and dealt with under the provisions of Part V of the Survey Act was 132. They were decided by Assistant Superintendents of Survey to whom the power to do so was delegated. Twenty-six appeals were filed and the appeals decided by me. In 21 cases the orders of the lower court were upheld, in two they were reversed, and in three they were modified. Second appeals were filed before the Commissioner in the case of three disputes. There is no second appeal as of right in such cases, but the Commissioner accepted the appeal petitions and passed orders on them. In two of these cases the orders were upheld, but in the third case they were reversed. In reference to this case a petition was submitted to Government and order was passed* that "the order of the Superintendent of Survey be restored" on the ground that it "was based on his conclusion regarding possession and this being so the Commissioner has in the opinion of the Governor in Council gone beyond the powers vested in him by section 58 of the Bengal Survey Act V of 1875 in setting aside the Superintendent's order because he took a different view as regards the facts of possession." This ruling is quoted at length because it appears to be the only authoritative ruling upon the meaning to be attached to section 58 of the Act. The dispute was one of the only two which referred to a considerable area. It lay in the bends of the stream separating Chakla Roshnābād from *pargana* Gangāmandal in *thana* Kasbā. The record follows what was undoubtedly intended to be recorded by the Settlement Officer of Chakla Roshnābād, but the map was either wrongly inked up or altered afterwards. The villages concerned are Gourangola of Gangāmandal and Haripur and Nischintapur of Roshnābād. In the other case covering a considerable area, the villages were Narāi of Chakla Roshnābād and Birāmpur of Sarāil, one on each side of the Titās south of Brāhmanbāria. In this case also the former record of Chakla Roshnābād and that of Sarāil were followed and there was no doubt as to the correct decision which was in favour of Sarāil. The Māharāja of Tippera as proprietor of Chakla Roshnābād and of the Lālmai Hills was a party in no less than 29 boundary disputes, but in regard to none of the land concerned was he found to be in possession. There was an important dispute in the area which had been surveyed by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur between the Hāturia estate under the Court of Wards of Bakarganj and the *khōs mahāl* in Char Ishānbāla and Char Karālia to the south-west of Chāndpur. At the request of the Collector of Tippera the relay of the Revenue Survey line of the Hāturia estate was undertaken and carried out by the *kārunyo*. Babu Amulya Kumār Bhattacharjya who relaid the line with the help of the comparative maps prepared

* Government's resolution No. 622T.-R., dated the 18th June 1918.

for the *Diara* Survey by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur. The line was demarcated under section 56 of the Survey Act, but the settlement of the dispute was left to the Collector. No other boundary disputes were of sufficient importance to require notice here.

Khanapuri.

205. In Noakhali and Tippera modified rules for writing the *khatiāns* was employed which had not been used before. The adoption of a new method in Noakhali. They were the rules which appeared a year after work began in Noakhali in the Technical Rules and Instructions "issued by the Director of Land Records on principles approved by Government." The late Major Jack after the printing of the record had become an established process turned his attention towards economy in the volume of the record, both as to the number of pages used for each *mauza* and the number of words and lines used on each page of the form. In one point a change from the procedure in Faridpur and Dacca was necessary for another reason than economy. In those settlements when the same landlord collected rent from the same *raiya* in two different rights (e.g., twelve annas as proprietor and four annas as a middleman holding a lease from another proprietor), the rule was that the rent in the two shares must be divided and recorded in two parts. The landlords had begun to object strongly to this. The matter was hardly a matter of law for section 102 of the Tenancy Act and the notifications issued under section 101 specified among the particulars to be recorded "the rent payable at the time the record-of-rights is being prepared" without prescribing the record of further particulars of the manner in which the rent is realized by co-sharer landlords. A co-sharer landlord alone cannot sue for and obtain a "rent decree" for a share of the rent of a tenant. He can only obtain a "money decree." Even after a record-of-rights has been prepared and the *khatiāns* show the separate collections of co-sharer landlords, when he sues for his rent he has to prove his separate collection by independent evidence. Nor does the record operate at all in the reverse case. To make the matter clearer by example—in the case of a holding under two co-sharers, one of whom is proprietor for eight annas and middleman for four annas and the other proprietor for four annas, to record the rent in three parts does not help the four annas proprietor in any way towards separate realization of his share through the Civil Court for he still has to prove his separate collection independently and can only get a money decree; nor on the other hand, does it drive his co-sharer to the necessity of suing for and obtaining separate decrees for each of his two shares and give the tenant an opportunity of satisfying them one at a time. This opens up the matter to another point of view and the question puts itself forward: "Is the Settlement Officer legally bound after setting forth the share of the holding held under each landlord to record any further particulars concerning the rent than the total amount payable?" Inevitably the answer is in the negative. The question follows: "Is there anything to be gained by dividing the total rent in any particular case, and, if so, what consideration should be taken as a guide in the matter of such division?" This may be looked at from three points of view, those of the tenants, the landlords, and those who prepare and will have to use the record after it is complete. When the time for payment comes round the tenant who holds under three distinct landlords has to go to three different *kacharis* (offices of landlords' agents) perhaps in three different villages and make three distinct payments. If he only knows the total rent and is the simpleton in money matters which the cultivator of Bengal usually is, he will find when he reaches home that the total he has paid is something more than the total rent due. The agent of each landlord has taken advantage of him over the odd annas and pice in making the division of the total. It is, therefore, distinctly to the advantage of the tenant if each amount of rent which he has to pay separately is recorded separately. It frequently happens that rent is realized from the same tenant by co-sharers who have never seen each other and have no dealings with one another. One may live in one district and one in another. Especially when such co-sharers realize, as they often do in the matter of odd annas and pice,

not quite in accordance with their sharers (I am not now speaking of odd realizations by their agents which are not credited to the landlords) it is very much to their advantage that the record-of-rights should show them clearly what the rent of their share from each holding actually is. From the point of view of the record-makers and record-users the following may be said. Before the first experience of printing the record in Faridpur the *sthit* of each landlord's *khatīān* was written up in full. That is to say, in the columns of the *khatīān* of each landlord's interest set apart for the purpose, the number and a brief note of the ownership of each tenancy held under that interest together with its share of the rent and its proportionate area were entered. As the rent for each landlord's interest had to be entered in the *sthit* columns the shares of the rent had to be separated at some time and the rules required that the Attestation Officer as he dealt with each tenant's *khatīān* in turn should enter the rent due against each landlord's interest. The cost of printing the full *sthit* was found to be prohibitive, and, as it was not an essential part of the record, neither in Faridpur or Dacca where also the full *sthit* was written was it printed in full. For statistical purposes, for cess revaluation and for use in subsequent partition proceedings and the like, it is sufficient if the total rent of each holding is known. It may thus be said that the record of separate rents for the interests of co-sharer landlords is not now essential or even a convenience either to the makers or the users of the record-of-rights for administrative purposes. After this examination from the point of view of these three parties the answer to the second of the above questions is that it is a convenience to both tenants and landlords that the rent of a holding should be divided in the record-of-rights to show separate amounts against the interests or groups of interests of co-sharer landlords for which a separate collecting agency is employed. This convenience is the consideration to be adopted as a guide.

It is very common in Eastern Bengal to find that co-sharer landlords, who employ a common rent collecting agency, have separate accounts of collections kept on paper and give separate rent receipt to their tenants. They distrust one another. One may at any time attempt to gain an ascendancy over the tenants, separate from the others and induce the tenants not to pay them. The papers they have kept will then enable the others to sue the tenants and get money decrees for their shares of the rent. The procedure adopted is only precautionary and is not adopted as a preliminary step to further separation. It has the effect of deterring any one of them from attempting to play the other false in the way that has been mentioned, and may continue indefinitely. Sometimes it seems to be mere ostentation instead of this distrust that has prompted its adoption. In such a case, as this, it is no advantage to the tenant to have the rent due to each co-sharer separately recorded. He has to pay one sum to one single agent and it is enough for him that the total payment is recorded. The landlord in such a case urges that the separate collections should be recorded but as has already been pointed out this will not help him in the least in the Civil Court. On these considerations the rules now in force do not provide for the record of "separate collections" in this case although in Dacca and other settlements such separate collections were recorded.

206. The Standard Tenure-tree was an invention perfected in the Bakarganj Settlement as the only means of over-

The village the essential unit.
The record of a village to be complete in itself.

coming the extraordinary difficulties due to subinfeudation run mad. By means of it consistency in the manner of recording the evolution of the same tenures in different villages was insured, and by it the repetition of the same long drawn out enquiries by two officers working in different parts of the same estate was obviated. It did its work as no substitute could have done, but the work it has had to do in other Settlements has not been nearly so heavy. To those *kānungos* and Assistant Settlement Officers who had been brought up with it in Bakarganj and their immediate successors in other Settlements it had however become a fetish. If two brothers, joint-owners of an estate, had by private arrangement set apart a few plots near their homestead to the one and to the other, and leased them out to separate tenants (or even if the barber who served one brother held one plot of land rent-free under him alone while

the *dhobi* who served the other held another plot) then the interest of the two brothers were considered separate and recorded separately—not only in their home village but in every other village to which the estate extended. Every tenant was recorded under two separate interests and every rent divided into two parts. This was carrying standardization to an extreme. The rules as modified in Noakhali and Tippera insist on the fact that the unit for which the record-of-rights is prepared is the village. If in the village for which the record is being written the land of two shares of a tenure is for the most part undivided, then one *khatīān* is to be opened for the tenure, but, if for the most part the lands of the shares are separate, then two *khatīāns* are to be opened; and this, quite apart from any considerations as to whether the land of the two shares in other villages is separate or not. In Noakhali and Tippera it has been the rule that no abbreviation of the entry of a list of co-sharer shall be allowed to remain, if the complete list of their names is not to be found elsewhere in the record of the same village. The *mauza* has been made the unit in this sense also that the record for a *mauza* has always been made complete in itself.

207. One economy in record writing was employed in Tippera which was not generally prescribed in the Director of Land Records' Technical Instructions, although section 15 of the Khānapuri Rules provides for its use when the Settlement Officer so directs. Each estate or tenure is locally described either after the name of him who first took settlement or by some other "*Mudāfat*", to use the vernacular term. This description is entered in the *khatīān* for that estate or tenure, but in Tippera has not been carried forward to the tenants' *khatīāns*. There, in the column for the description of the superior interest, besides the name of the landlord only the nature of each interest, *Zamindāri*, *Patni*, *Raiyati*, etc. was entered. The tenant's *khatīān* is primarily for the tenant, to show his land, his rent and to whom he has to pay it. Details of the interest of the landlord are entered in his *khatīān*, and can be found by turning back to it. The number of the *khatīān* to which to turn is to be found in the tenant's *khatīān*. The economy of omitting the *mudāfat* of landlord's interests from the tenant's *khatīāns* does not save much in printing because the *khatīāns* of many tenants under the same landlord are printed off without resetting the type in the columns describing the superior right. Nor, since *khānapuri āmins* are paid at a contract rate on the number of plots recorded, is there a money economy at that stage although time is saved. But the *āmins* so often get the *mudāfat* wrong, and much time of the higher paid staff employed at later stages is wasted in correcting it. The economy is, however, not of great importance.

How real from the point of view of economy was the advantage of the reform, by which it was no longer necessary to divide the rent which a landlord received when he owned more than one joint interest to which a tenant's holding was subordinate, will be realized from a single instance in Tippera. *Pargana Kadba* covering 35 square miles is the joint property of four estates. The right to collect rent from the tenants has now passed into the hands of Rājā Hrishikesh Lāhā in seven different rights. If the same rules had been followed as in Dacca the rent of every tenant would have been laboriously divided into seven parts, no two of which were equal, and so recorded. In Tippera only one lump rent was recorded for each tenancy. In the district as a whole, however, the resultant economy from the change of procedure was not so great as in Noakhali, for, as has already been mentioned, Tippera is a district where the procedure of partition of estates has been often adopted.

The Assistant Settlement Officers and myself always insisted upon the *kānungo* going to the village the morning an *āmin* was to start the *khānapuri* and writing up as many of the landlords' *khatīāns* as possible with his own hand. If he got these correct at the time of *khānapuri* and put the *āmin* in the way of making all the corollary entries in the tenants' *khatīāns* correctly, he saved himself much labour later. But unless drilled into it the *kānungos* were too often willing to let the *āmin* in cases of difficulty leave the column for particulars of the landlords' interests in tenant's *khatīāns* blank. The check of the record of a large number of plots at the *khānapuri* stage by the

kānungos was not insisted upon as they are required to check every plot at *bujhārat*. Circle Officers however checked a good deal of *khānapuri* to make sure that the *kānungos* had set their *āmins* working on the right lines. The number of plots found in the 1,797 square miles surveyed in Tippera was 2,644,092 which gives average of 1,472 plots to the square mile.

208. It is always a rush to get through the work of extraction of the areas of plots and the copying of *khatiāns* for tenants between the completion of the *khānapuri* Preliminary office work, of a village and the time when the *kānungo* is ready to begin *bujhārat* in it. Much time and much contingent expenditure on carriage of records has been saved by the adoption of the plan of sending only the sheet to the Sadar Office or to a central camp for extraction of the areas of plots, and having the figures entered in the record and copies of *khatiāns* prepared in the *kānungo's* own camp. Even so, when the new plan was introduced in Noakhali of presenting the landlord before *bujhārat* with copies of all his tenants' *khatiāns* as well as presenting the tenants with theirs, it was only by very careful management that there were always records ready for the *kānungo* to begin *bujhārat* when he was prepared to do so without wasting any of the invaluable days of February and March, which, if lost, must be repaid with toil and discomfort in the heat and damp of June or perhaps July. Constant recriminations passed between the camps and the office in which area extraction went on, but the plan of making every *kānungo* responsible for his own *khassra* and copying work saved a great deal more.

Bujharat.

209. *Bujhārat* has become a more important stage in the preparation of the record than attestation itself. It was done very carefully in Tippera, for the high average Progress *bujhārat* of. standard of the *kānungo* establishment was a more valuable asset at this stage even than during cadastral survey. Each season the staff employed proved just sufficient to finish the programme by about the middle of June so that there was no necessity for any sacrifice of care and accuracy so that the year's programme might be carried out. The climate is much cooler in the months of April, May and June than in the centre and west of Bengal, and before the middle of June rain usually does not come till the evening and so does not interfere with field work to any great extent although the total rainfall during these months is large. Great care was always taken to check the accuracy of the mapping at this stage by examining the configuration of every field and comparing it with the map. The record of the subinfeudation in each estate having been checked, the difficulty of *bujhārat* afterwards depends very much on the number of estates in the village and the manner of their interlocking. This difficulty did not arise in Gangāmandal, Baradākhāt and certain other *parganas* where there was usually only one estate in each village, but in certain other parts the number of *chaks* in the villages was found to be very large. The estates of Homnābād *pargana* are very closely interlocked, but the greatest difficulty in this matter arose in the south-western part of the district among the small shares of the *zamindāris* and the numerous *khārija tāluks* of *pargana* Singhergāon, *tappe* Farrukhābād, *parganas* Sakdi, Mahabbatpur, Srichāil, etc. Copies of the *thāk* maps of the villages of each *halka* were prepared on tracing cloth and made over to the *kānungos* at the beginning of the field season, and it was always a point insisted upon, that careful comparison of the *thāk* maps with the maps of the cadastral survey should be made by them at the time of *bujhārat*.

210. In Dacca Settlement it was the rule that the record-of-rights should be brought into conformity with the *thāk* Thāk comparison. in the following cases :—

- (a) Where the same tenant holds lands under two adjoining estates.
- (b) Where the same landlord is the proprietor or tenure-holder under two adjoining estates.

- (c) Where the landlord is proprietor of one estate and a tenure-holder under an adjoining estate.
- (d) Where a proprietor possesses 16 annas in one and a fractional share in an adjoining estate.
- (e) Where the same estate possesses adjoining lands in adjacent *mauzas*.

In the rules for *bujhārat* framed and used in the Tippera and Noakhali Settlement during the first season one of the above five cases (d) was not mentioned. In such a case the other fractional sharers in the second estate cannot be ignored. The Dacca rule amounted to an instruction to ignore their possession in some cases where there was no doubt of it. The Dacca rule was qualified by the sentence. "The above are merely wide examples and in such cases the *thāk* should ordinarily be followed," but the qualification in practice was not enough. *Kānungos* interpreted the rule literally and applied it invariably and some injustice certainly ensued. It was the application of the Dacca rule in a case which came under (d) that led to a reference of the matter to Government in connection with two of the estates of Sarāil pargana falling in the part of Tippera surveyed by the Settlement Officer of Dacca for the purpose of the *Diāra* survey of the Meghna. The Settlement Manual of 1917 is modelled at the point where it deals with the matter of *thāk* comparison on the results of that reference and the technical rules issued by the Director of Land Records on principles approved by Government in 1916 contains the following :—

"Before taking up the *bujhārat* of a village the *kānungo* should compare the *thāk* trace with the village map noting the plots which correspond to the *thāk chaks*. At the time of field *bujhārat* he should enquire into discrepancies and subsequently prepare a discrepancy statement in the form prescribed by the Settlement Officer. No action will be taken except in accordance with rule 302 of the Settlement Manual."

Rule 302 of the Manual is :—

"The following rules have been prescribed regarding *thāk* comparison :—

"(1) In areas where there are reliable *thāk* maps there should be a stage of ' *thāk* comparison ' in order to test the accuracy of the draft record.

"(2) A note should be made of all discrepancies between the *thāk* map and the draft record, but no copy of this note should be given to the public nor should it be one of the papers which are deposited in the Collector's record-room.

"(3) The *thāk* map and the 'note of discrepancies' should be used by the Settlement Officer and his staff to assist them in the decision of disputes, but no disputes should be written up by the Settlement Officer or his staff *suo motu* on the basis of the note of discrepancies.

"(4) A proprietor or a group of proprietors may, on his or their own application, have the draft record changed, so as to bring it into conformity with the *thāk* map, provided that the interest of no third party is adversely affected thereby.

"(5) Except as indicated in instruction (4) above, or in consequence of the decision of a dispute, the draft record should not be altered so as to bring it into conformity with the *thāk* map."

After the first season in this Settlement these principles were followed and some recital of the manner of their working will be found instructive. The rigidity of the Dacca rule was inspired by the desire to ensure that estates for which revenue was being paid should not be found missing from the record-of-rights or recorded with an area so far reduced as to render it probable that the proprietor would discontinue payment of revenue. If however the revenue of the estate is not paid it is put to sale and the purchaser can claim the estate as it was created when permanent settlement was made. As there was no survey in 1793 the best evidence of the extent of estates permanently settled at that time is found in the *thāk* and Revenue Surveys. The purchaser of an estate at a Revenue Sale can therefore claim possession according to the *thāk* and Revenue Surveys. The present rules for *thāk* comparison are inspired by the consideration that it is no part of the duty of the Settlement Department to provide ahead for the contingency that

one of two revenue-paying estates may be brought to sale. So long as one proprietor owns two estates and continues to pay revenue for them he can use them as he pleases so long as the interest of third parties is not affected. In the same way so long as a landlord holds tenures under two estates he may theoretically use them both as he pleases. The proprietors in the latter case, are however interested parties. If the proprietor of one estate finds that a common tenureholder under him and the neighbouring estate is wrongly having too little land recorded as under his estate, he has good cause to object, and his objection must not be ignored at the time of preparation of a record-of-rights. If the two estates belong to the same proprietor he is still an interested party. Clause (5) of rule 302 of the Manual gives him the opportunity of avoiding machinations by which his tenant may transfer land from one estate to the other. It justly gives him the opportunity. The position of Government as the paramount power superior to him is not exactly analogous with his position superior to that of a common tenure-holder under two estates. His proprietary interests are at stake while Government is only the receiver of revenue. The justice and correctness of the present rule is thus unassailable.

The difficulty of framing the record when common landlords and common tenants hold land under different adjoining estates is a technical difficulty but one which is very commonly met with. When *khānapuri* is started in a *halqa* of 14 square miles, commonly *āmins* are working in as many as eight different villages. The same landlords may have interests in each of these villages. They know that the *kānungo* will do *bujhārat* of these villages one at a time. They have not the staff to send out to attend every one of the *āmins*. If they employed special staff for the purpose it would only be necessary for a very short period, for *khānapuri* does not take long, and the staff they could employ would be so ignorant of their interests as to be quite unable to take any effective steps to safeguard them. The result is that the *khānapuri* *āmin* is not regularly attended by competent agents of all the landlords of the village in which he is working. He has to frame his record depending very much on what the tenants say. When two estates in the same village belong to the same landlord and have so belonged, as is often the case, for a long time, the tenants are often quite unable to distinguish between the lands belonging to each. The distinction means nothing to them. Common use affords no evidence of it. One man has received the rent ever since they can remember and that is as far as their knowledge extends. In a district like Tippera where so many of the cultivators are "sea lawyers" a tenant will sometimes deliberately put the *āmin* wrong with the idea of creating confusion out of which he may profit. At the *bujhārat* stage it is always insisted that the landlord shall keep one agent in constant attendance. Even to do this the landlord is always in difficulty. His regular staff is employed on collection of rent. Rent collection has to go on and his regular agents insist that they were only engaged as collecting agents, have no time to do more and refuse to attend field *bujhārat*. Landlords, therefore, are obliged to employ temporarily a special staff for settlement work. These men are sent into the field primed regarding matters likely to be in dispute between their employer and his tenants and between him and neighbouring landlords, but knowing nothing about other matters. The instruction given in the technical rules does not allow the *kānungo* to make any correction in the *khānapuri* record of the lands of common landlords or tenants in adjoining estates except at the instance of the landlords on the basis of the *thāk*. The rule seems to give too much credit to the *khānapuri* record. There are many cases where use goes contrary to the *thāk* and has done so for years, where a landlord has received rent for a plot, given receipt for it and kept account of it, as being under one of his two adjoining estates, while the *thāk* shows it as belonging to the other. Such cases arose from a mistake committed sometime after the *thāk* map was prepared. In some instances no doubt the *thāk* was wrongly prepared. But by far the majority of the instances in which the *khānapuri* record goes contrary to the *thāk* are due to mistakes made at *khānapuri* time. I have had more experience of the comparison of *thāk* maps with cadastral survey maps than any other European and have found no instance in which a landlord has deliberately tried, contrary to current usage, to include lands of one estate in the record-of-rights of another, whether with

the intention of defeating the realization of revenue or for any other reason, although I have known several in which a middleman owning two tenures has tried to include in one land properly belonging to another. Land revenue is now such a small fraction of the current rent that such machinations on the part of landlords in a district like Tippera are no longer to be feared. In practice a good *kānungo* brings instances of mistakes made at *khānapuri* time to the notice of the landlord's agent and the landlord's agent requests him to correct the record according to the *thak*, and in practice it is therefore very common to find that the spirit of the original *bujhārat* rules, issued in the first year of this Settlement, is ultimately followed. That is to say, in the circumstances described under the sub-sections (a), (b), (c) and (e) of the Dacca rule it is usual to find that the record has ultimately conformed to the *thak*. The correction of mistakes in the *khānapuri* record when landlord or tenant is common in two estates under the present technical rule is however liable to remain undone, when the *kānungo* is not working conscientiously or when the particular agent employed by the landlord is lazy or obstructive. An obvious mistake may remain in the record without the *kānungo* having gone contrary to the letter of the rules. Not only would I commend the experience gained in this settlement regarding the working of the present rules for *thak* comparison to other Settlement Officers, but I would urge a modification of section 22 of the technical rules for *bujhārat* to provide that :—

“ It shall be the duty of the *kānungo* where—

- (a) a tenant holds land under two adjoining estates ;
- (b) the same landlord is proprietor of or tenure-holder under two adjoining estates ;
- (c) the landlord is proprietor of one estate and tenure-holder under another ; and
- (d) the same estate possesses land in adjoining mauzas.

To bring to the notice of the landlord's agent every discrepancy in the record of the estates between the *khānapuri* record and the *thak* map, and if he asks for it to be done should under rule 302 of the Settlement Manual bring the record into conformity with the *thak*.”

To add that in such cases the record should, unless the landlord objects be corrected to make it conform with the *thāk*, would be to go contrary to Government's orders upon which section 302 of the Manual is based. It might lead to misunderstandings and the existence of such a clause would displease the landlords. If the *kānungo* thinks that a particular agent is standing in the way of corrections being made in a spirit of obstructiveness, as is sometimes the case, for such persons show themselves very touchy at times, it is quite a simple matter for him to bring the matter to the notice of his Circle Officer and he to the landlord himself or his manager.

211. The *thāk* maps in Tippera and Nonkhali are always found to have been prepared with the use of the prismatic

How the *thāk* maps were made. compass and almost always are on the scale of 16 inches to the mile. The *thāk āmin* in surveying each village began by making a circuit of it picking up every corner and every bend with a station which he entered in his field-book. He completed the circuit in every case whether he had surveyed the boundary already in the circuit of the adjoining village or not. Only when he had completed his field-book for the circuit did he turn his attention to blocks (*chaks*) belonging to different estates within it. Commonly quite half of a village belongs to one estate and the others are in comparatively small blocks scattered over it. The *thāk āmin* would start with one of these blocks on the boundary. If one corner of it coincided as it usually did with one of the stations of his original circuit he would start from that station, if not he could make an intermediate station. He proceeded along the boundary of the block as he had proceeded with his original circuit making every corner one of his stations and taking its bearing and distance from the station before, until he was brought back again to a station on his original circuit. Having finished the first of these blocks he proceeded to take up another either adjoining it or adjoining the village circuit at another point. Sometimes a block to be surveyed did not touch the original circuit or one of the blocks already surveyed. In such case the *āmin* proceeded from the nearest of the stations already appearing in his field-book to a corner of the block and

surveyed it by a complete circuit which he closed upon itself. The internal survey of the village was thus built up block by block inside the village circuit until the locality of all the blocks in the village was ascertained. No map was prepared as the survey went on. The maps were plotted from the field-books afterwards, often apparently by a person different from him who did the survey.

212. The prismatic compass is not an accurate instrument. A field-book prepared by its use, in which there are a large number of stations close together and the number of bearings taken is great, when plotted, cannot be expected to produce an accurate map. The village circuits usually did not close and the *thāk* maps very often show this, the last station which should have fallen in the same position as the first being joined with it on the map by a dotted line. Sometimes the words "*Mil nāi*" are added. In the interior of the map inaccuracies are always apparent, especially in regard to the relative position of two blocks near together the survey of which was built up from opposite sides of the village circuit. But the measured length between one station and the next was usually accurately entered in the field-book. Each individual angle was also measured not far wrong. The result is that the shape and size of each small block and the relative position of a small number of stations surveyed consecutively in any part of the map appears correct. The shape of every small *chak* can be recognized at once when the *thāk* map is compared with an accurate map of the same area, and outstanding features in the boundaries of the large *chaks* can similarly be recognized, but it is found that the *thāk* maps are not to be depended upon to show accurately the relative position of two *chaks*, when the *thāk āmin* did not proceed directly to survey the one *chak* from a station on the boundary of another. No attempt should ever be made to relay a compass *thāk* map from a fixed point by demarcating the stations on the ground. As soon as the survey has proceeded to a few chains from the starting point the relay can no longer be expected to represent the position of the boundaries which the *thāk āmin* set out to map. Yet Commissioners employed in cases before the Courts, with that little knowledge which in such a matter is so very dangerous a thing, never think of employing any other method, with the result that confusion results in almost every attempt made by the Courts in Bengal to come to a decision on the basis of the *thāk*. To one having a little experience in dealing with *thāk* maps it is almost always quite easy, by comparing the *thāk* map with such a map as is prepared at the time of the cadastral survey preliminary to the preparation of a record-of-rights, to determine with absolute certainty what is the correct position of almost every *chak*, and to discover in every case what the *thāk āmin* intended to portray when the *thāk* maps were prepared. When a cadastral survey map is extant any Judicial Officer sitting on his bench can with very little trouble and after very little experience discover the correct position of a *thāk chāk*. The relay which he will be able to make will be correct, whereas the relay made by the use of a prismatic compass by a Commissioner after a visit to the locality cannot be correct except by an extraordinary coincidence. By a visual comparison of the cadastral and *thāk* maps laid side by side it is usually quite easy with a soft pencil to outline one by one the *thāk chaks* on the cadastral map, the shapes of each being readily recognized in the lines of the field boundaries. As the certified copies of the *thāk* maps issued to parties are on tracing cloth, it is easy to superimpose the *thāk* map on the cadastral map when necessary and fit the *chak* boundaries by a process of judicious shifting. Proceeding to fit the maps *chak* by *chak* from one side of the boundary circuit it is found easy to proceed up to a point, after which the *chaks* appear to have shifted greatly. The manner in which the *thāk āmin* built up his survey is apparent from the order of the consecutive numbering of his stations which is always shown on the map. It is found that up to this point the *āmin* built in the direction in which *chak* by *chak* the maps have been fitted, and that the survey of the *chaks* beyond that point was built up from the opposite side of the village circuit or from some other direction. When a Judicial Officer has discovered the position of a disputed *chak* by comparison with a cadastral map the correctness of his discovery will always be so obvious to the parties concerned that they cannot

but accept it. The losing side is never satisfied with the relay of a portion of a *thāk* map by the usual methods employed by Civil Court Commissioners.

213. The manner of the *thāk* surveys has sometimes led to curious results. Two *chaks* close together, the survey of which was built up from two opposite directions, are usually not in their correct positions relative to one another. Sometimes the result is peculiar. One *chak* for example in a village was surveyed by building up from the village boundary on west side of the village and another a little to the east of it by building up from the east of the villages, but when the *thāk* map was plotted the relative position of the two *chaks* appeared reversed. In another instance in which two *chaks* were surveyed in this manner, although on the ground they were some few chains apart, on the map they appeared one inside the other. I have seen a case in which a small *chak* was surveyed from the two opposite sides of a village and appears in the *thāk* map twice in two different positions. The village was a large one, took some time to survey and the *thāk āmin* before he had finished forgot what he had surveyed and what he had not. It is quite common to find cases in which two *chaks* touching one another on the ground were surveyed from two opposite sides of the village and appear separated by a gap. The map then seems to show that between the two *chaks* there was a strip of land belonging to the "*ābasista*" estate of the village, i.e., the estate to which most of the land in the village belongs, the numbered *chaks* belonging to other estates and the "remainder" (*ābasista*) to it. The landlord of this estate asks what has become of the strip of land which the *thāk* map shows as belonging to him. The answer is that such a strip of land never existed except on paper in the *thāk* map. In Appendix IV to this report is shown the *thāk* map of part of the village Bhakarda No. 217 in the jurisdiction of Laksām *thana*. Besides it is the cadastral map of the same area showing by red lines how the *thāk* map fits upon it. Possession by the proprietors of the estates concerned follows these lines and the shape of the *chaks* is immediately recognisable on the ground in spite of their very distorted portrayal in the *thāk* map.

214. In what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs it has been assumed that the land of the village has not been completely diluviated and reformed. When that has happened naturally no trace of the old field boundaries will remain, and it is impossible to discover by comparison with the new map what it was that the *thāk āmin* intended to portray. Sometimes a Court requires a relay of the *thāk* in adjudicating a claim of the reformation *in situ* of a *thāk chak*. This is a matter of real difficulty. The boundary of the village according to the Revenue Survey map can always be relaid accurately. The *thāk* map on examination will show in what manner the *āmin* built up his survey from the village boundary till he reached the disputed *chak*. The boundary having been relaid according to the Revenue Survey, the relay of the *thāk chaks* should be begun from the point on the boundary according to the Revenue Survey at which the *āmin* began his building and should follow the *āmin's* work step by step. If the disputed *chak* is near the boundary the relay will be tolerably accurate. If it is far away the relay will not be accurate and no accurate relay is possible, but this method will avoid contradictory relays of different parts of the map. When a court determines the boundary of a village by means of the *thāk* it usually does wrong. In Tippera, unless at the point where the subject-matter of the suit lies there was diluvion or alluvion going on at the time of the Revenue Survey, a Court is invariably making a mistake in determining any village boundary according to the *thāk*. The *thāk* surveyors went over the country the season before the Revenue surveyors prepared their maps. They marked for the latter the village boundaries both on the ground and by means of the maps which they handed over to them. When the boundary was disputed the *thāk* authorities marked the boundary according to both parties. These disputes were decided by the Superintendent of the *thāk* survey and the *thāk* maps have notes on them to indicate the areas thus under dispute. When the Revenue surveyors found that the *thāk āmins* had marked a wrong boundary they returned the *thāk* maps for correction.

In reporting on the work in 1864 Mr. R. B. Smart, the Superintendent of the Revenue Survey, wrote. "The comparison of the professional village boundaries with the *thāk* plans was excellent. Not a single map was returned to the Civil Branch of the survey for correction." This means that the Revenue surveyors had no occasion to pick up any other village boundaries than those which the *thāk* authorities marked for them. In other words, the Revenue Survey maps portray the same boundaries as the *thāk* maps. If at any point on a village boundary the *thāk* map and the Revenue Survey map appear to differ the difference is due to inaccuracies of survey. In deciding whether it is the Revenue Survey made by scientific methods that is wrong or the *thāk* survey, which was only intended to be its guide, there need never be any question.

215. To return from a digression, peculiar difficulties arose in *bujhārat* in various parts. The big estate No. 303, eight annas odd of *pargana* Tora which fell in the second and in the fourth block taken up, but mainly in the former, was under partition. The partition was incomplete when *bujhārat* was going on in the second block. There were more than a hundred co-sharers and there had been numerous instances in which the owners of small *aliquot* shares had assigned their shares in certain *mauzas* or certain groups of *mauzas* in middle rights to local men. At the time of cadastral survey agents of the most important proprietors of the estate asked that *khānapuri* might be stayed until the partition was complete. They were especially eager for this and even tried to arrange that none of them should contest the first allotment made by the partition Deputy Collector, in order that the delay in completion of the proceedings might be as little as possible. In this they failed and as it appeared quite likely that the partition might remain uncompleted for a long time, *khānapuri* was done in the usual course. It seemed the more important to go ahead with the preparation of the record in that the rights of the middlemen for *aliquot* shares in certain blocks only were often to be avoided in carrying out the partition and had found no part in the partition record. As the latter was not complete these persons had a right to expect to have a record of their middle rights, which would be valuable in assisting them to realize from those who had created these rights in their favour compensation for their termination. As the law stands the lot of middlemen in such cases is hard, and if at the expense of some extra trouble a record has been prepared which will enable them to obtain in Court the compensation which is their right, such trouble will not have been altogether wasted. The record of the second block of the Settlement had been draft published and printed and was on the point of being finally published, when the partition proceeding was completed. The proprietors have filed applications for settlement of fair rents upon most of their tenants and on my advice to their pleader have in their plaints raised issues under section 105(a) which will enable effect to be given to the allotment. In the part of the estate falling in the fourth block *khānapuri* was complete before the partition was final. The records were modified according to the allotment at *bujhārat*. But here also the middlemen whose rights terminated had the opportunity of taking copies of the *khātīns* opened for their rights at *khānapuri* and these may be of assistance to them in recovering the compensation due to them.

216. *Sarāil pargana* covered half the third block. The bulk of it is under the Court of Wards and had been the subject of a former record-of-rights prepared nearly 25 years earlier. As there is no coparcenary and very little sub-infeudation, the preparation of the new record would have been very easy but for the fact that almost every tenant has two or three, and some have several more, separate holdings for which separate rents are paid. During the Settlement Operations the special *āmins* appointed to watch the preparation of the record on behalf of the landlords were at great pains to keep the lands of the holdings separate. This has been the policy of the estate ever since the last Settlement. Even in granting rent-receipts the *tahsildars* of the Court of Wards are required to enter in every *dākhilā* the numbers according to the last Settlement record, of all the plots of the holding for

which the receipt is granted. What waste of labour and time this involves may easily be imagined. The *tahsil* staff it is necessary to employ must be much larger than would otherwise be required. Even before the old Settlement the same policy was followed and I have seen a few rent-receipts giving the boundaries of the plots of holdings dated from the time when the estate was under the Court of Wards in the minority of Rājā Asutosh Rāy. A tenant was often found to have thrown two of his fields together which were separate plots within separate holdings at the time of the last Settlement. In such cases the boundary between the two plots had to be relaid on the new maps according to the division shown on the old one. For this and similar reasons the number of corrections of the map at *bujhārat* was very large indeed. There were something like 20,000 plots divided at that stage. Even though the tenants were willing to amalgamate their holdings, the estate *amla* had set their face against it. The Manager, Mr. Halliday, took leave just as field-work was commencing and did not return till *bujhārat* was over. None but the Assistant Manager, a man on Rs. 100 a month, was appointed to act in his place, although this is an estate covering over 300 square miles, for 90 per cent. of which a record-of-rights was being prepared. By the end of the field season orders had been issued by the Collector to the Assistant Manager to arrange for the amalgamation of small holdings belonging to the same man with his consent, but by that time the *kānungos* had laboured through the separation of the holdings. Even after the Collector's order had been passed the Assistant Manager wrote to him that the practice in the estate had always been to encourage such amalgamation, a statement which I do not hesitate to state is wholly untrue, and at the next stage, attestation, no attempt whatsoever was made on the side of the *amla* of the Court of Wards to effect amalgamation. The attitude of the *amla* was natural, for they would see some of their number no longer required to be employed if the work of rent collection were lightened.

One could not examine the record in Sarāil or watch the progress of its preparation without being struck by the fact that in parts at least of the estate the number of plots transferred, for which mutations have not been made in the landlord's *serista*, is much greater than usual in other estates. In some places the tenants complained bitterly that mutations were altogether refused. The Assistant Settlement Officer who was in charge of the preparation of the record of the strip which was done from Dacca told me the same tale, and I wrote to the Collector about it, in the absence of the Manager of the estate. I afterwards found that it was not by any means in all parts of the estate that mutations were refused, but it depended upon the methods of the local rent-collecting staff, although everywhere mutations cost considerably more than the nominal charge determined by the rules of the estate. It is moreover a rule in the estate to allow no mutation in a holding of which any of the rent is in arrears.

The previous Settlement record of Sarāil estate has been much maligned. It was found that the maps, except sometimes in the *basti* areas of the villages, were on the whole good ones, very much better ones than I expected to find them. The more I saw of the conditions in the Sarāil estate the more I sympathised with the last Settlement Officer in the difficulties he must have had to face in preparing his record. He made a satisfactory survey, and a fairly good record of actual possession—generally wrote down the right man as the cultivator of each plot. But he had to bring his record into line with the landlords' papers. If he had to deal with several holdings in the name of each of the majority of the tenants, and met with as many changes of possession by purchasers unrecognised by the landlord as are found to-day, it must have been a task foredoomed to failure without the expedient of field *bujhārat* to solve the difficulties. The record as finally published was at once condemned. The landlords (the Court of Wards) at once undertook a revision of it which is locally spoken of as the "*nikāsh*." There was a multiplicity of holdings in the names of the same persons before the record was prepared, but it was considerably increased instead of diminished during the *nikāsh*. The present record-of-rights is even more complicated, for as time goes on holdings are continually being divided among the heirs of a deceased cultivator, and one cannot but feel that the

Court of Wards by its attitude towards the present Settlement operations has lost a golden opportunity which is not likely to recur for many years to come.

217. As has already been described in paragraph 136 the history of the two-thirds share of Baradākhāt since its purchase in 1835-36 has been that of the efforts of the *tālukdārs* to retain the rights they had under the old *zamindārs*. In some villages disputes have gone on continuously until the present day. The large village of Chāpitala in the north of Murādnagar *thana* was the home of a number of these *tālukdārs* and contains not only a large number of "*tālūks*" but a large number of *dāimi* settled estates. Some of the *tālukdārs* were those who took the *dāimi* settlements, but at the present day each one is ready to claim either that the *tālūks* exist or that they were avoided at the time of the Revenue Sale, as in each particular case it suits his interest as *tālukdār* or *dāimi* settlement-holder. Whether the *tālūks* were to be recorded or not was a matter which was decided after a very careful enquiry by Khān Sāhib A. K. Kabiruddin Ahmed. He found that there were many cases in which the *raiya*s taking advantage of the quarrel had paid no rent to anyone for years, but that in the majority of cases the *tālukdārs* were in possession. He decided that they were to be recorded as the receivers of rent from the *raiya*s but that there was no rent for their *tālūks* fixed in perpetuity. The decision will enable the proprietors to obtain settlement of a fair rent for them under section 105 of the Tenancy Act, and it is hoped that by this means a quarrel which has been going on for more than three quarters of a century will at last be patched up.

Chāpitala was not by any means the only village in which the dispute as to the existence of the "*tālūks*" had been still kept alive. It was sometimes found to have taken different turns. In some cases one of the original *tālukdārs* had taken *dāimi* settlement, lost or sold his proprietary right, and then attempted to retain possession by setting up his original *tāluk*. In one village, Malāi in Nabinagar *thana*, the number of proprietors having become large they instituted a partition proceeding before the Collector and the village was divided into a number of estates. In this proceeding the *tālūks* were ignored. Subsequently the *tālukdārs*, although some of them were also proprietors, instituted a suit for the partition of the *tālūks* in the Civil Court. The Court re-divided the village into nearly a hundred blocks entirely without reference to the Collector's division. Now most of the "*tālukdārs*" are also "*proprietors*" by having purchased when the estates were sold or about to be sold for arrears of revenue. In this particular village there was no doubt to whom each of the *raiya*s was paying his rent. The record of the estates follows the Collector's partition. When the proprietor is in possession over the *raiya*s no intermediate tenure has been recorded in his name though he may have claimed one. When another receives rent from the *raiya*s he appears as a middleman under the proprietor, but with no rent fixed in perpetuity. In some villages that were *dāimi* settled the proprietors were forced ultimately to compound with the *tālukdārs* giving them fresh settlements in perpetuity. In a few instances small *dāimi* estates have again been purchased by Government for arrears of revenue. In the case of these no doubt has been allowed to remain that, if any tenures existed until the second Revenue Sale, they have not been avoided. In the estates which have always remained *khās mahāls* the *tālukdārs* claimed to be proprietors. The decision of their case will be found summarised in the chapter of this report dealing with re-settlement of land revenue.

Attestation.

218. *Buzhurat* when it is as carefully done as it was in Tippera, makes attestation very easy. In Noakhali attestation was the more easy because the tenants so well knew their rights and liabilities and because almost every rent settlement

was found to have been confirmed by a registered deed. Though neither of these conditions were so universal in Tippera, the tenants were found very much more alive to their rights and interests than in other districts in Bengal for which a record-of-rights has been prepared. The absence of rent disputes was perhaps the most striking feature of the progress of the Settlement Operations in Noakhali. There enhancements of rent in recent years had been very few. The conditions in Chāndpur and Hājiganj the first two *thanas* of Tippera to be surveyed were much the same except for the enhancements that had been made by the Nawāb of Dacca in *pargana* Dallāi. In the third block conditions changed very little in this respect. There were no rent disputes in Sarāil and it was usually not many holdings that were affected in those in the southern part of the block. A few cases are of sufficient importance to be mentioned, the enhancements by Amar Krishna Rāy Chaudhuri, etc., in some villages of Dakshin Shāhapur and Etkādpur *parganas*, by *patnidārs* in Char Bāzārkhola and Chota Charpāra, two villages in Daudkandi, and the rent disputes in Tappe Bārikandi. In the last there is very old standing dispute between the tenants and the landlords dating from the time of Golām Maulla, which was found to have been complicated of late years by the issue of rent receipts according to the tenants' version of the rent by certain *amla* of Rup Lāl Dās and others' *kachari* at Krishnagar after they had been dismissed from service. Throughout the third block as a whole the relationship between landlord and tenant was good, when by good is meant that the landlord is satisfied to realize the rent to which he is legally entitled and makes little attempt either to increase it or realize more which is not part of the rent legally payable. In the centre of the block, the northern part of Daudkandi *thana* and the south-western part of Nabinagar, within the jurisdiction of the police stations of Homna and Bāncharāmpur, there have been a number of recent proceedings under the Partition Act. In several of the estates affected the tenants had practically stopped payment of rent altogether. The landlords had instituted the proceedings because the rents were low and the number of co-sharers so many that efforts to enhance them were impracticable. They had been costly and the landlords promptly proceeded to endeavour to recoup themselves. The tenants in parts of Tippera seem to consider that after a partition they must make a new settlement with the co-sharer into whose allotment their holdings have fallen, and there have been instances in the past in which they have accepted an enhancement after a partition in terms which they certainly would not have accepted otherwise. *Pargana* Nayābād gave the most trouble in the attestation of rents in this part of the district, but there were other estates in which the same difficulties were repeated. In Nayābād there were joint collections till 1310 B. S., when the partition proceeding was commenced. It took nine years to be completed and there are now 61 separate estates. Since 1310 B. S., there was practically no realization of rents and as in the meantime the transfers of plots between one tenant and another had been very many it was an almost impossible task to discover the rent legally payable in all cases. The Attestation Officers had at times to record "no rent fixed" on account of the absolute impossibility of finding what rent should be recorded. To some extent this was what the landlords wanted for it made it easier for them when the time came for filing applications under section 105 of the Tenancy Act. If no rent were recorded for a holding which had formerly paid at a very low rate they would thus be enabled to get an average rent for it. The Attestation Officers did their best to reduce the number of such entries as low as possible, but it was inevitable that some should remain.

219. In the fourth block the staff of this Settlement met what they had not met before in either Noakhali or Tippera, wholesale enhancements for rent which were not within the legally prescribed limits. In Murād-nagar, Comilla and Chāndina *thanas* they were comparatively infrequent. There were found to have been illegal enhancements in parts of the estates of the Rāys of Sāhapur, the Singhas of Gobindapur and the Majidpur Bābus all holding, either as proprietors or middlemen, blocks formed by the disintegration of the 10 annas share of *pargana* Baradākhāt. In *pargana*

Rent disputes in the centre and south-east of the district.

Homnālād illegal enhancements were found which covered the ~~rest~~ of certain landlords in groups of several villages. The Homnālād *Zamindārs* show much more likeness than other landlords of Tippera to the landlords of other parts in Bengal, in the power wielded by them and their *amla* and the awe with which they are regarded by their tenants. Their enhancements were usually found to have been cloaked in legal form, the *kabuliyats* purporting to account for an enhancement of the rate of rent at 2 annas per rupee and for the rest as for increase in area. But there was, except in the estate of the Nawāb of Comilla, which was formerly under the Court of Wards, nothing to show that there had been such increase of area. In several villages the tenants of Nawāb Ali Nawāb Chaudhuri of Paschingāon had combined against him and had refused to pay either the old or the enhanced rents, but under others of the Homnālād *Zamindārs* the rents had usually been paid even though there had been illegal enhancements.

220. In the central part of the district disputes regarding rights in

Disputes regarding tanks.

tanks were very frequently found. The tank adjoining a cultivator's homestead is normally part of his holding for which he pays rent with the rest. In *pargana* Dallāi which fell partly in the second block the disputes were first met with. The Nawāb of Dacca claimed that all the tanks were his own property. The claim was decided against him and the tanks recorded in the tenants' *khatīāns* as their possession of them as part of their holdings was clearly proved. Similar disputes were only very few in the remainder of the second block and not many more in the third block, but became very frequent in the northern and middle part of the last block. Dallāi *pargana* re-appeared with the dispute in its old form, but further north especially in Baradākhāt villages its form changed. The tenants claimed that the tanks formed rent-free holdings, the landlords countered with the claim that they were their exclusive property. Each dispute had to be dealt with on its own merits for not only were there different usages in different localities, but in the same locality the landlords becoming less generous had attached harder conditions to their permission to excavate the newer tanks. Certain old tanks standing in open stretches of paddy land apart from the homestead sites were undoubtedly the property of none of the tenants, though the general public might by practice have acquired the right to use their water. A few tenants were able to produce *sanads*, the deeds of rent-free grants, which undoubtedly excluded the tanks from their holdings and made them separate rent-free proprietors, but such cases were very few, and the *sanads*, dating between a half a century and a century back, were the oldest ones produced. Many more tenants produced what they called *sanads* dating from more recent times. An ordinary *raiya* in Tippera may not excavate a tank without his landlords permission. Most of the *sanads* were grants of permission to cut tanks and no more. Some of the latest, especially those given by *Shāha* landlords in certain of the *dāimi* settled blocks of Baradākhāt, so far from giving the tenants rent-free rights in the tanks set forth that the tank was to be landlords' private property; the tenant was to be allowed to use the water but every fish caught was to be carried to the landlord's *kachari*. Although the site of the tank was within the tenant's holding, he had been required to pay a very substantial sum before permission to excavate even on such terms as were given. Most commonly the *sanads* did state that no rent was being assessed upon the water of the tank, but an especially high rate was set upon the banks so that in practice the tenant got no remission of rent. Rents were fixed in Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal by David Paterson just before the Permanent Settlement in the manner which he found customary in the *pargana*. Assessment was made upon the area of cultivable land at definite rates, while upon the homestead with its appurtenances was placed what he called a "soorut jammah", a lump sum "proportionable to the raiet's apparent circumstances". Exclusion of the tanks from assessment seems therefore to have come with the introduction, where such has been made, of definite rates for homestead lands. "*Chukti jamas*" as they are now called are still current for homesteads in some parts of Baradākhāt and Gangāmandal. As has already been stated the disputes regarding tanks were decided each on its

men, myself and the superintending officers, endeavouring only to keep one Circle. Other informed of what was being done in typical cases in other Circles, so that there might be some degree of uniformity in the decision of parallel cases in different localities. The manner in which the majority of the tanks in dispute were ultimately recorded was to include them in the tenants' holdings with the remark against the plot "*jalāsh nishkar*". This is to be interpreted as meaning that the tenant has full rights of possession in the tank as in the rest of the holding, but that the current rent of the holding does not include any assessment upon the water of the tank. In the permanently settled parts of Baradākhāt and adjoining *parganas* I do not think that the landlords are likely to be able to prove that any definite rates of assessment are current. If the rents are modified either by private contract, by application under section 105 of the Tenancy Act, or through the Courts, they will therefore be treated as lump rentals. The fact that nominally, where tanks have been cut, the water of the tank is unassessed but the banks, etc., are assessed at rates high enough to compensate for this and to leave the total rent for the holding the same as if no tank existed, will thus prove immaterial. A court can I think safely deal with the whole rent of a holding under section 30 and section 52 of the Tenancy Act with justice to both parties.

That there are quite enough tanks in the central part of the district has already been mentioned. The cutting of more tanks merely tends to reduce the area available for agriculture. Tenants generally prefer to cut a new tank rather than re-excavate an old one, partly because just where an individual wants a new tank there does not usually happen to be an old one, and partly because an old tank re-excavated does not give such good water as a new one. The attitude of the landlords, which as the *sanads* showed has gradually turned against encouragement to cut tanks, is not however to be accounted for by any appreciation of the fact that the excavation of a tank is not in the same way an improvement of their property as it was when tanks were fewer. They continue to ask more and more premium before they give permission to excavate, solely for the sake of the money.

221. The most remarkable feature of the tenure-system in Noakhali was found to be the result of the widely prevalent custom by which a *raiya*t by paying a premium to his landlord can purchase his recognition as a tenure-holder. Instances of such promotions were found in the parts of Tippera bordering Noakhali but were not commonly found elsewhere. There were however exceptions, *e.g.*, in the case of *pargana* Kadba. Kadba which lies to the west and south-west of the Mainamati Hills, though situated so far from Noakhali, is held under the same four joint estates of the Noakhali *Tauzi* Roll as *Parganas* Amirābād and Bederābād in Feni Subdivision. In the middle of the last century the three *parganas* were in the hands of the Courjons of Comilla. Two of the sons of the founder of the family received each an eight-anna share of them when their father died. First one of them in 1865 and then the other in 1869 made permanent settlements covering each his own share throughout the estate. Usually the settlements had the effect of promoting *raiya*ts to be tenure-holders holding at fixed rents. This was the rule in the part of the property in Noakhali district, although in Tippera more of those who took settlements were true middlemen. Both the Courjons and Delauneys were in the habit of making settlements at fixed rents in their properties in other parts of the south of the district but only a few other landlords of whom the most important was Muhammad Gāzi Chaudhuri of Rupsa followed their example in Tippera. The advantage to the landlord lies not only in the premium which is of course a valuable consideration, but that the collection of rent is facilitated. The Courjons took agreements from the tenants that their *taluks* should be saleable under the "Sunset Law" for default of payment of rent, although in fact this has never been done, and made somewhat hard stipulations regarding interest on arrears. Any such contract made by a tenure-holder is by section 179 of the Tenancy Act valid. The status of such a promoted cultivator is undoubtedly that of a tenure-holder, for the custom of promotion is well established. The record

of the status has as in Noakhali been qualified by writing it *prathānujāyi madhyaswata* (tenure by custom) so that a judicial officer or other person new to the district may find some explanation of the apparent anomaly of tenure of which the whole land is in the cultivating possession of its owner.

222. Throughout the permanently-settled area dealt with in both Tippera and Noakhali permanent tenures of which the rent is periodically changed do not exist at all. There is a kind of tenure spoken of as *tuknisi* in Chakla Roslinābād of which the rent increases by a stipulated amount after a definite time, but tenures of the same nature are not found in other estates. A few tenures have been recorded *chirasthāi* (permanent) *khājuna briddhir jogya* (rent liable to enhancement), but there were cases in which their holders after showing indifference until the eleventh hour were unable to produce evidence before the Attestation Officer of the fixity of their rent. In very few cases does it appear that the rents of such tenures have been at any time increased. There was usually found no ambiguity regarding the incidence of the larger tenures and the spectacle of a multitude of small tenures covering separate blocks of land was less common than in Noakhali. In the case of such small tenures at fixed rents as were found the same careful distinction as in Noakhali was made in the record of their rent as *khājuna briddhir ajogya* (rent not liable to enhancement) and *nirekh kāemi* (at a fixed rate). The significance of these terms requires some explanation. The rent of a tenure can be changed under section 52 of the Tenancy Act if the area is found on measurement to have altered, unless there is an express provision to the contrary in the contract by which it was created. When the contract contains such a provision a note of it has been made in the record. From the absence of such a note it is to be presumed that section 52 may be applied. When granting an enhancement under section 52 of the Tenancy Act it is for the Court to settle a fair rent for the excess area. In the case of some tenures in Tippera and Noakhali there is an express provision that any excess area found on measurement is to be assessed at the same rate as the original tenure and that this rate shall in no circumstances be changed. If the area is found on measurement to have been reduced remission is to be granted at the same fixed rate. Where there is such a provision the phrase *nirekh kāemi* has been used in the place of the phrase *khājuna briddhir ajogya*.

223. Tenures are commonly called *patni*, *shikimi*, *mirās hāola*, etc., or merely *tāluk*. These words are those used all over Eastern Bengal and there is little significance in the use of one or another. All that are called *patnis* are not necessarily made subject to the *Patni Sales Laws*, while some are that are described otherwise. Particular types are few but the following are worth a passing mention. In *Sārail parganas* the word *mukharāri* is used as the description of a tenure at fixed rent, *upanchāki* is a small *shikimi* and *khoshbās* is a holding which was originally given at an especially low rental as reward for some service. *Khānebaris* are settlements originally given in *Dāudkāndi thana* to persons on condition they would occupy jungle land and bring it under cultivation. A *kāemi mukharāri gathan* in *Gangāmandal* (Joar Guagachhia) is the property of a *raiyat* promoted to the possession of a tenure under which are included the holdings of a number of his neighbours as well as his own. The status of the *sarāsari jimbādārs* around *Mehār* gave some trouble. Custom did not clearly distinguish them as *raiyats* or tenure-holders and the record of their status was determined according to the original purpose for which each was created.

224. Rent-free tenures were commonly found all over the district. Even the old Muhammadan *zamindārs* of the big *parganas* *Sārail*, *Baradākhāt*, *Gangāmandal* and *Pātikāra* were in the habit of granting rent-free tenures, *Brahmottars*, *Debottars*, etc., to Hindus. The family that owned *Baradākhāt*, *Gangāmandal* and *Pātikāra* less often granted such tenures to Muhammadans, but in *Sārail* there are *imāmnazar* and *khadi* grants to *mullahs* who should pray for the *zamindārs*. There are also *cherāgis* in *Sārail* which have already been

mentioned * and all over the district numerous service holdings belonging to barbers, washermen and even *pālki*-bearers. In the estate of the Rāmpur Shāhas (*pargana* Tora) *pālki*-bearers are allowed to hold at half rates. It has been common in the past, and the arrangement is still sometimes made even now, for the purchaser of an estate or tenure from a family which has come down in the world to allow it to retain its old home while he realizes the rents from the tenants occupying the rest of it. Sometimes the arrangement is part of the contract of sale, but in the old days it was more often a compromise made to avoid the usual struggle necessary to obtain possession after purchase. The old family enjoys possession of its old home without payment. Neither the landlord, if the right sold was a tenure, nor Government, if it was an estate, recognizes any right of the old family to continue in possession. The right has originated with the purchaser and accordingly the old family has been recorded as holding rent-free under him and a rent-free tenure appears in the record-of-rights which is usually described as *bhogattar*. As there is usually no deed by which the origin of such a tenure is to be discovered it has been thought necessary to explain what has been done in this report.

225. In the record-of-rights in Faridpur district, when a block had been broken off from an estate or tenure and sold without any reference to Government or the landlord, the purchasers were recorded as holding under the vendor. This was certainly not correct and the same manner of framing the record for such blocks has not been used in this Settlement. When a block has been broken off from a tenure and sold, a note has been placed in the *khatīān* for the original tenure thus:—"atira *khatīān* haite *khanda kharid dakhalkār amukh* ; *eta nany khatīān drastabya*" ("from this interest has been broken off and sold a block in the possession of so and so ; see *khatīān* number so and so"), and one rent has been recorded as covering both *khatīāns*. The purchaser and the holder of the original tenure are jointly responsible for the rent. The case is not the same as that in which the old family is left in possession of its homestead. In that case the purchaser continues to accept responsibility for the whole rent.

226. There is no doubt that half a century and more ago there was a distinction drawn between the holding of a *raiya*t in which his homestead was situated and other holdings which he might possess, but the distinction has now disappeared. No *raiya*t would now submit to ejection from a holding, which did not contain his homestead, any more readily than from that which did. At the present day it may be said that throughout the district the rights of *raiya*ts conform to the provision of the Tenancy Act. Occupancy-holdings are nowhere transferable without the landlord's consent, but the latter may always be purchased on payment of *salāmi*. The landlords nowhere attempt to distinguish between different classes of purchasers with a view to securing suitable tenants. The amount of *salāmi* required varies considerably, and there is much discontent among the tenants of those who try to realize exorbitant sums on this account. In this matter it is often the local agents whose avarice rather than that of the landlords themselves causes feelings of resentment, but there are notable instances in which this is not the case. In a few instances the landlords have done their best to defeat their agents by requiring all the business of *khārij* as it is called to pass through their own hands. The Superintendent of the Nawab of Dacca's estates in Bara-dākhāt has all petitions for *khārij* put up to himself, but even then the local agents refuse to forward them, unless they get some payment. The agents of the Court of Wards in Sarāil *Pargana* denied the right of transfer to *raiya*ts at fixed rents in the *pargana* and the latter seemed to be uncertain of their possession. But the Tenancy Act, is explicit on the point, and the right of transfer has been recognised in framing the record.

227. Small *abwābs*, such as *tahari* and *dākhila kharach* are realized when the rent is paid and as often as not cess is realized from *raiya*ts under middlemen at one anna in the rupee. Small *talukdars* attempt to justify themselves by saying

* Vide foot-notes to paragraph 19.

that they pay rent at 10 pice per rupee and cannot afford to realize only 2 pice from their *raiya*s. Small *taluks* have always been valued by the Collectors, who have carried out Cess Revaluation, at three times their rent, and the *tālukdārs* are commonly found to be under the impression that the law imposes cess at 10 pice per rupee upon all tenures. Other *abwābs*, such as *Kālīpuja birtī* and *Dasahāra*, subscriptions towards the cost of *puja* celebrations, are also sometimes realized, but the demand is nowhere large enough to produce discontent except in *Laksām thana*, where as has already been mentioned the landlords are able to overawe their tenants in the manner of landlords in other districts in the Province. There the landlords whose hands are heaviest are *Badaronnessa Chaudhurāni* and *Amar Krishna Ray Chaudhuri*, etc., of *Laksām*.

228. It was found to be a feature of Noakhali that the conditions of settlement of almost every holding had been reduced to writing in a *kabuliat* which had been registered. This was also found commonly to be the case in Tippera, but in this matter there was some variety in passing from the south to the north of the district. Registered *kabuliats* are more frequent towards the south and east of the district and less frequent towards the north and west until in *pargana Nayābād* there is scarcely a tenant who has registered a *kabuliat*.

229. In Noakhali district it was found that the evils of the system of produce rents was non-existent. The few holdings found to be at produce rents were created as temporary arrangements for the sake of convenience, for instance, when a cultivator died leaving only minor children, whose land would be leased in *borga* to neighbours until they were old enough to cultivate it themselves. Through most of Tippera district the case is the same, but there are exceptions especially in *Nabinagar*, *Daudkandi* and *Muradnagar thanas* where money-lenders who are also small or comparatively small landlords have bought out the original *raiya*s. Some of them were found to be cultivating land on their own account at the hands of servants, and, although some no doubt did so temporarily having heard that just over the *Meghna* in *Dacca khatians* had been opened for *borgadārs*, others have done so for some time. One set of landlords had invented a curious trick to insure that their *borgadārs* should claim no permanent rights against them. Instead of concluding a settlement at produce rent the agreement was put in the form of mortgage (*poshāni*), the mortgagor being the landlord and the mortgagee the cultivator.

Especially in the same localities and throughout the central part of the district the provisions of section 22(b) of the Tenancy Act, which are intended to prevent landlords from acquiring occupancy-rights by the purchase of *raiya*-holdings, are systematically defeated or attempted to be defeated by the purchase of holdings by landlords and middlemen in the names of their wives or near relations. When disputes arose upon the point the officers of the department usually decided in favour of the application of section 22(b) to such cases on the ground that though the purchaser might make the purchase in the name of his wife or son so that both should ultimately be bound by it, yet since they were still living jointly, such an arrangement could not operate to affect the rights of a third party, the under-tenant, to rob him of the opportunity of acquiring occupancy-rights. The manner in which certain influential men in *Comilla* and in the district sought to defeat the law in this matter was found to be entirely shameless.

Draft publication and objections.

230. This stage of the Settlement procedure had been taken very seriously indeed by both landlords and tenants in Noakhali. In the southern part of Tippera it was taken as seriously. The interest of the tenants became somewhat less further towards the north but still appeared to be much greater than I had seen in other districts in which I had had experience of settlement work. The records of all villages were draft published for one month. This period was extended in the case of certain large villages to two or

even three months. Forms upon which to file objections were supplied *gratis* and parties were allowed to take any such pencil notes from the record as they wished. The only precaution taken was that the record remained in charge of a *muharrir* in a place where what was going on could be watched and none was allowed to approach it with a pen in his hand. At this stage, when the parties fully understand it and appreciate the advantage it gives them, affords a valuable opportunity for the correction of mistakes in the record, objections were not refused merely because they were filed after the date on which draft publication was over. If the objector added a petition, on which another eight-anna stamp was placed, stating some reason for the delay in filing, the Objection Officers were instructed to accept such an objection up till the time when notices were being issued for the disposal of the other objections referring to the record of the same village.

The total number of objection filed in the area dealt with in Tippera was 37,825. The number compares with those filed in Noakhali and in the Dacca Settlement as follows :—

	Tippera.	Noakhali.	Dacca.
Total number of objections filed ...	37,852	26,466	43,417
Number per square mile in the area dealt with	20	20	15
Number per 1,000 <i>khatians</i> ...	57	68	31
Number per 1,000 of population ...	22	24	15

231. An examination of the number and nature of the objections filed and of the decisions passed upon them affords valuable evidence not only of the character of the people of the district but of the degree of accuracy of the draft record. That a very large number of objections is filed may sometimes mean that the record was not accurately prepared, but in Tippera and Noakhali the reason for it is to be found in the intelligence of the people and their familiarity with judicial forms, which enabled them to take advantage of this stage of the procedure to an extent which myself and my officers could not fail to remark. In analysing the objections in the following manner a comparison is made with the figures of a similar analyses given for Noakhali and by the Settlement Officer of Dacca in his Final Report :—

In Tippera.	In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
63.4 Per cent.	67.3 Per cent.	60 Per cent	were with regard to possession and shares.
13.2 "	8.6 "	19 "	were with regard to rent.
8.6 "	9.1 "	10 "	were with regard to <i>mukarari</i> rights.
4.9 "	1.3 "	1 "	were with regard to rent-free rights.
9.9 "	13.7 "	10 "	were with regard to status and incidence.

This comparison shows that the landlords and tenants in Tippera are in better accord with one another on questions of rent than in Dacca, but that there are more disputes on the subject than in Noakhali. It also shows that questions regarding rent-free rights are far more often in dispute than in either Dacca or Noakhali. It is especially in the matter of tanks that this is so.

As regards the parties to the objections :—

In Tippera.	In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
7.2 Per cent..	11.7 Per cent.	23 Per cent.	of the objections were between landlord and landlord.
44.6 "	33.2 "	41 "	of the objections were landlord <i>versus</i> tenant.
18.0 "	18.6 "	14 "	of the objections were tenant <i>versus</i> landlord.
29.2 "	34.6 "	20 "	of the objections were between tenant and tenant.
0.7 "	1.4 "	1 "	of the objection were landlord or tenant against the record.
0.3 "	.5 "	1 "	of the objection were miscellaneous.

The small number of disputes between landlord and landlord in Tippera is to be accounted for partly by the fact that large compact estates are found in parts of the district and partly to the care taken over *thak* comparison at the time of *bujhārat*. In Dacca only 34 per cent. of the objections were filed by tenants. In Tippera the proportion was 48 per cent. and in Noakhali 54 per cent. The figures of this comparison are the measure of the interest taken by tenants at this stage of the proceedings, and indicate their comparative capability of looking after their own interests. The proportion of objections filed by tenants against their landlords in the three districts is interesting. One who knows how much less the tenant east of the Meghna is in awe of his landlord than the tenant to the west might have expected to find that the tenants in Tippera and Noakhali had filed objections much more readily against their landlords than the figures at first sight appear to show. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the point in dispute between a tenant and his landlord is usually the amount of his rent. It is because rent disputes are fewer east of the Meghna that the tenants did not require to file more objections against their landlords. And it is because rent disputes are distinctly more common in Tippera than in Noakhali and because tenants in Tippera have more rent-free claims to make that the number of objections tenants *versus* landlord was almost as high in Tippera as in Noakhali. The Noakhali cultivators are decidedly the more sophisticated.

The decisions in objections in Tippera, Noakhali and Dacca stand compared as follows :—

In Tippera.	In Noakhali.	In Dacca.	
2.5 Per cent.	7.0 Per cent.	7 Per cent.	were undisputed cases for correction.
13.5 "	15.9 "	20 "	were disputed cases in which the record was reversed in the item to which objection was made.
26.5 "	21.4 "	22 "	were disputed cases in which the record was modified in the item to which objection was made.
54.5 "	55.6 "	51 "	were disputed cases in which the record was upheld.

In Noakhali the undisputed corrections were mainly in regard to possession and shares and arose from persons having died between attestation and the filing of the objections. The people of Tippera did not trouble themselves to the same extent in the matter of the substitution of the names of heirs whose rights were not questioned, a matter to which unreal importance was often attached by the people of Noakhali. The reduction of the percentage of cases in which in Tippera and Noakhali the record was reversed is an advertisement of the greater accuracy of the draft record in this settlement than in Dacca. The number of cases withdrawn or dismissed for default, 19 per cent. in Noakhali, increased only to 5.0 per cent. in Tippera and is an advertisement of the keenness which the people in both districts showed in contesting these cases.

Final office work.

232. The final *jānch* (scrutiny) of the record was carried out in camps after attestation had been completed and while the objections in each block were still going on.

Final *jānch*.

In the first three blocks objections were disposed of each year during the months preceding the Puja holidays and arrangements were made so that both objections and *jānch* were finished just before the holidays began. The "recess" is a time of year when, not only the field *Kānungos* and Revenue Officers who are not Assistant Settlement Officers and cannot therefore dispose of objections under section 103A, but also a large number of competent clerks, *badar āmins* and attestation *muharirs*, have no work to do either in the field or in attestation camps. The work of final *jānch* was rushed through in the recess in order that *Kānungos* and Revenue Officers, whose pay would otherwise be debited to the head of supervision and for whom Settlement Officers in the past have found it difficult to find full

employment during that time, and the best of the clerks, whose pay is drawn under the head of Job and Contract and who in recess were formerly thrown out of employment, might do the work there was to be done. A Revenue Officer was in charge of each *Jānch* camp with two or three *Kānungos* to help him. These men themselves checked whether the decisions in disputes and objections had found place correctly in the record, called parties to supply information for correcting mistakes or completing omissions which were detected during the check, supervised the work of the clerks, dealt with references from them and finally passed each village record when the work was finished. Lists were prepared of those interests for which free copies of the vandyked maps were to be distributed along with the printed *khatīāns* at the time of final publication. The method of eliminating interests belonging to a person to whom a copy had already been allowed with the *khatīān* of another his interests in the same village was that prescribed by the Director of Land Records' Technical Rules. Besides the record the maps were also examined in camp. The check of the map was done by selected *badar āmins* whose services were available at that season. They showed in blue ink on the sheets every thing that had to appear in the final maps, *alāmats* (signs for trees, houses, etc.), names of adjoining *mauzas*, marginal references to plots numbered out of the serial order, numbers in the serial for which there were no corresponding plots, the numbers standing for roads, streams, etc. The sheets therefore went to the Drawing Section in the *Sadar* Office with no more to be done to them than to ink them up in black. There was no necessity for the draughtsmen to refer to the plot index, over doing which they managed to waste so much of their time in other Settlements. For the check of the record after attestation an attestation *jānch* form had been devised which would enable the compilation of statistics of rent and tenancies to be carried out from it after final *jānch* without referring to the *khatīān* volumes. This form was used again at final check and corrected to follow the record when changes were made in the latter in carrying out orders passed under section 103A. The speeding up process, which had been begun in the attestation of part of the 3rd block ahead of the programme, led to the completion of the attestation of three-quarters of the 4th block ahead of the normal programme before the Puja holidays, 1918. Disposal of objections was taken up immediately after the Puja holidays and with it the final scrutiny of the record. Although *bujhārat Kānungos* were not available at this season as in the first three blocks, one was spared from transfer to other Settlements to take charge of each *jānch* camp. The area being much more healthy than Jessore and not so remote as Bankura, the two districts where a full attestation programme was being carried through, clerks and *badar āmins* competent for *jānch* work, men whose homes were on this side of the Province, were glad to stay on, and the work of final *jānch* was carried out by them with almost the same speed and almost as satisfactorily as in the first three blocks.

233. The fact that no cess revaluation was being carried out on the basis of the draft record as in Noakhali made the work remaining to be done far more simple in

Printing.

Tippera. When the records came in from the *jānch* camps they were ready to go straight to the press.

Two sheds with brickwork plinths, cemented floors, mat walls on wooden frame work and red Dacca tiles were put up in 1916 to house the presses. They were built departmentally and cost only Rs. 11,000 against the Public Works Department's estimate of Rs. 16,000. Fourteen hand presses were received with their auxiliary furniture from the Dacca Settlement at the end of 1916 and work started in February 1917. Three more presses came in June 1917 and the last of the complement of 18 was received in January 1918. Most of the compositors came from Dacca but a few also from Midnapore and Mymensingh and a few local men were trained. A certain number of the menials also came from Dacca. The compositor-staff was expected to be an element very difficult to control, but by his tact and care the Superintendent of the Press, Babu Purnendu Nath Guha, a *Kānungo*, was able to keep the work going smoothly. The compositors are men of the *bhadrak* classes, but of so little education that they

would be unable to find such employment as their caste prejudices would allow them to accept in any other than work of this sort. They are improvident and sensitive. The promotion of a menial such as an ink-boy or press-man to be a compositor was always out of the question. It would have offended them so much as to lead to a strike. They were paid at contract rates and after a monthly calculation of their earnings. Towards the end of the month they worked with feverish energy to swell the payment they would receive, and at the beginning of the month slacked off to give themselves a rest. How much this was the case will be seen from the following statement of daily outturn of interests and lines printed for the month of August 1918:—

Date.	Interests.	Lines.	Date.	Interests.	Lines.
1918.			1918.		
1st August ...	680	10,053	17th August ...	1,467	14,127
2nd " ...	1,191	15,131	18th " ...	SUNDAY.	
3rd " ...	1,370	16,210	19th " ...	2,151	20,835
4th " ...	SUNDAY.		20th " ...	2,351	21,907
5th " ...	1,403	15,803	21st " ...	2,633	23,450
6th " ...	1,329	10,456	22nd " ...	2,594	23,905
7th " ...	1,314	14,626	23rd " ...	2,358	22,943
8th " ...	132°	1,365	24th " ...	2,344	22,427
9th " ...	1,597	16,833	25th " ...	SUNDAY.	
10th " ...	1,890	19,164	26th " ...	2,423	23,420
11th " ...	SUNDAY.		27th " ...	2,308	22,499
12th " ...	1,851	18,520	28th " ...	2,598	23,939
13th " ...	1,892	18,083	29th " ...	HOLIDAY FOR	
14th " ...	2,091	19,576		JANMASTAMI.	
15th " ...	2,181	20,736	30th " ...	2,499	21,397
16th " ...	2,268	20,646	31st " ...	2,415	25,818
			Total ...	49,330	485,871

There was a similar feverish activity each year before the Puja holidays, and when the time drew near for calculating the outturn upon which a bonus was to be declared for the presses which had done best. The system in Dacca, where electric light was installed in the press buildings, fostered such irregularity and was bad for discipline. To divide the compositors into two shifts was not possible owing to the fact that either one shift would have to use the other shift's galleys and much time would be lost in breaking up type, for instance the columns for landlords' names which were repeated in several tenants' *khatians*, or else a double set of galleys and much more type would have to have been purchased. In Dacca the compositor might work on at night as long as he liked. After some months of working in Comilla with regular hours the regularity and discipline of the press improved greatly, and it was found after a time that the average monthly outturn of a press actually beat the average of Dacca at its best. In the appearance of the printed record also there was much improvement. This again was mainly due to the care which the Superintendent took to see that lines were kept straight and that the quads and spaces to the correct quantity were used all down the same column. He also insisted that the ink-boys should pass the roller along the length of the galleys instead of across. If passed across the roller is liable to touch the quads in the middle of a long empty column and these to mark the paper.

Ultimately the distributors of type were no longer employed. They gave great trouble in Faridpur and elsewhere. They were paid at contract rates, and, when the type had been weighed out to them to be distributed letter by letter, they would get rid of it by all manner of means rather than go through the labour of sorting it. In this Settlement the compositors sorted their own type.

234. To each press with its six compositors there were a *pathkar* or proof-reader and an assistant. It was found that there was usually enough work for two men, and the permanent association of the second man with the press, instead of his

Proof reading and final check.

temporary employment with it when there was very much proof-reading to be done, so that he shared any bonus the press might win, paid in full for the few occasions when he was not really required. When a page had been set up a "galley proof" was taken. This was checked and the "galley" corrected. When four "galleys" were ready and set up in the press, a press proof was taken, and only when this had been corrected was the record printed off. When each village record was complete it passed out of the press sheds to the main office building in a section of which was the "Final Check Branch". Here a thorough check was again made by groups of clerks sitting in pairs. These made a list of the mistakes they found. The Head Checker again checked 10 per cent. The list passed to a *Kānungo* employed in this branch who examined whether the mistakes had been properly classified as very serious, serious, slight or due to office mistakes in the original record. For very serious mistakes the page had to be re-printed by the press responsible without re-payment. The press *peshkār* had to correct other mistakes by blocking out the mistaken entry and printing the correct one in its place. There was a system of fines for mistakes which had to be paid partly by the press *peshkār* and partly by the compositors. When the Dacca staff first came and began work, it was found that the fines threatened to reduce the wages of the proof-readers so far as to leave them too little to live on. Later on they kept the mistakes down to a very small number. If the work they did when they first came was the work they used to do in Dacca, then the work of the Final Check Branch in Dacca must have been very carelessly done. The final record as it went out to the landlords and tenants in Tippera contained very few mistakes and there were only very few complaints on this score from the public, who were told in such cases to file petitions for correction under section 108A of the Tenancy Act.

235. Not a little of the smooth working of the press in Comilla was due to the arrangement made for the compositors to live in a hostel put up for the District Board's Technical School but disused. This was hired at such a rate that compositors could live in it for a few annas a month to make up the rent, and a contractor fed them for some Rs. 7 a head per month. The hostel was under the eye of the Superintendent of the Press and the compositors appear to have lived healthily and contentedly in it. The climate of Comilla, practically free from malaria, was also a great asset.

236. The preparation of statistics was done in two parts. Statistics of the employment of the land and crops were prepared from the *khāsra* during the first recess each year after *bujhārat* was completed. The statistics of rents and tenancies were prepared from the attestation *jānch* form in the *Sadar* office. Slips with compartments corresponding to the columns of the statistical form reproduced in Appendix D to this report, were filled in from a separate page of the attestation *jānch* form which had been used for each estate in a village. The *mauzawār* statistics were completed from these and they were then sorted and filed estate by estate. When the *peshkār* in charge saw from his progress register that the *mauzawār* work had been finished for all the villages in which an estate had land, he made over all the slips for the estate to a clerk who prepared the *mahalwār* statistics.

CHAPTER II.

Revision of Land Revenue.

237. A map has been prepared showing the position of the temporarily-settled area in Tippera and will be found in Appendix IV to this report. The numbers on this map are the *Tauzi* numbers of the estates. Some of the estates are very small and some that are larger are very scattered. Even though its position could only be shown by a dot on this map the position of every block that is not permanently-settled has been shown, but in a map on such a scale it was not possible to show the numbers of all the small estates.

238. As the enquiries made during the process of re-settlement of revenue in the estates show, the temporarily-settled area of Tippera has suffered far more by

Current assessment.

having been dealt with in the past piecemeal by inexperienced officers than that in Noakhali. In the newer formations established rates were somewhat lower on the average than in Noakhali and there was very much unevenness in the assessment between one estate and another, but the rates of rent were clearly defined and reassessment was not a matter of great difficulty. In the estates which had become Government property through purchase at Revenue Sales conditions were often very different, and it must be admitted that Government was very badly served in the case of a number of estates by the officers responsible for the settlements that were found current. They were ever ready to take the easy road, to persuade themselves, sometimes without the slightest justification, that they could not trace the manner of the former assessment, to be content with treating each tenant's rent as a lump rental and enhance it by some apparently altogether inadequate amount per rupee. Not only was the inequality of assessment between one estate and another in similar circumstances which was found in the newer formations repeated in the older estates, but inequalities in the assessment upon individuals in the same estate were emphasised instead of being diminished. Moreover the officers who were employed on settlement of land revenue in the district at the end of last century and the beginning of this, seem to have been ready to give way before the slightest opposition especially when it came from Hindu *bhadralok*, many of whom are interested in the estates round Chāndpur and some of the *khās mahāls* of *Pargana Baradākhāt*. There were instances found in some of the latter in which *bhadralok* tenants had certainly been assessed at rates lower than any of these sanctioned, although no mention of the fact was made in the reports submitted for the confirmation of the rent-rolls. The lack of impartiality in determining the rents of persons of higher caste does not appear to have been initiated at the last settlement. The officers in charge can be acquitted of that, but they allowed it to be repeated. It is out of place in administration by modern methods and has not been continued in the present revision of land revenue.

239. Temporarily settled private estates are few and are not of much importance, but the *khās mahāls* of Tippera are many and some of them very large. In describing the estates for which revision of land revenue has been carried out on the basis of the draft record-of-rights it is convenient to divide them into four groups :—

Four groups of estates.

ing the estates for which revision of land revenue has been carried out on the basis of the draft record-of-rights it is convenient to divide them into four groups :—

- (1) The old purchased estates in the south-west of the district with some alluvial formations in the Dākāitīa river.
- (2) The block of alluvial formations formed in the bed of the Meghna joined on to the mainland in the south-western part of Chāndpur *thana*.
- (3) The alluvial formations which are found in small blocks up and down the Meghna and its distributaries from Chāndpur to the north of the district. Almost all of these formed as islands. Along with them are a few temporarily-settled private estates.
- (4) The Baradākhāt *khās mahāls*.

The old purchased estates in the south-west of the district.

240. These estates are the original shares of *parganas* Gunānandi, Purchāndi and Singhergāon which were purchased by Government and survived the era of the *daimi*

Estate No. 1859.

settlements, and certain other smaller estates. With them go a few alluvial formations in the Dākāitīa river. Some of these estates were completely surveyed during the *Diara* Survey of the Meghna between Faridpur and Tippera carried out by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur. In the case of the estates among those which were ripe for revision of land revenue proceedings to that end were carried out by him and an account of what he did is to be

found in Mr. B. C. Prance's final report regarding the Settlement of the strip of Tippera surveyed from Faridpur. The work of revision of land revenue in some of these estates was taken up while I was Settlement Officer of Faridpur in 1912 so that I knew something of the conditions which might be expected to be found in other estates of which revision of revenue was to be undertaken at the hands of the District Settlement staff. The two most important estates of this group dealt with were that bearing Tauzi No. 1859 *Dihi* North of *pargana* Gunānandi, and that bearing Tauzi No. 1996, the share of 1/11/1 of *pargana* Singhergāon. As the circumstances of these estates differed radically from those of any that had already been dealt with in Noakhali, reports containing preliminary proposals were submitted to the Board of Revenue for orders. Estate No. 1859 which has land in 18 villages is one of the 3 main divisions or *dihis* into which Gunānandi *pargana* was cut after a regular survey in 1844-45. At the time a farming settlement was made for 50 years with Kāli Nāth Sen a descendant of Rāja Rāj Bhallab. The agricultural lands were assessed upon their area at definite rates, but the gardens, an important feature of the estate, according to the number of betelnut trees they contained. The settlement expired in 1895 and revision of the assessment was undertaken by the Subdivisional Officer, Chāndpur. He did not enhance the rents of holdings which had existed in 1845 except for increase of area because he could not prove the extent of increase in the price of food-crops during the 50 years! He enhanced the rents of holdings subsequently brought into cultivation in each village, treating them as lump rentals, up to the average level of existing rents in the village. Certain tenants, middlemen and *raiya*s, claimed fixity of rent but in no case could they prove their claim. The tenants' rents had been fixed when conditions in the south-west of the district were at their very worst, and, as the revision produced very little enhancement in the estate now containing land more valuable than perhaps any other in the district, the average rent paid by *raiya*s was only Re. 1-3-4 per acre. A fresh settlement was made with Paresh Nāth Sen, heir of the former farmer, who was given the right of a permanent tenure-holder, for 30 years at 70 per cent. of the total of the rent-roll. Realizing the inadequacy of the rents current in 1914 he petitioned for a revision of the assessment. In reply to a letter from me he undertook in June 1916 to forego the remainder of the period for which his rent had been fixed and a proceeding was instituted for settling fair rents for all his tenants under section 104 of the Tenancy Act. The experience of the Settlement Officer of Faridpur in dealing with the *khās māhal* estate No. 1867 part of the adjoining *Pargana* Purchāndi precluded the possibility of treating the rents as anything but lump rentals. The Director of Land Records somewhat modified the original proposal in the direction of leniency and the Board accepted them subject to his modifications. Rents were enhanced by 7 annas in the rupee (almost the full amount justifiable on the ground of rise in prices since the last settlement) but the enhancement was limited so that the rent of no *raiya*t holding direct under the *tālukdār* should be more than Rs. 3-8 per acre nor of any under a lower grade tenure-holder more than Rs. 4-8; lower grade tenure-holders were given an allowance of 25 per cent. on the rents paid to them by *raiya*s and 40 per cent. on the valuation of the land in their direct possession and tanks and ditches used by the public or serving no useful purpose were excluded from assessment. The *tālukdār* has been given an allowance of 30 per cent. of rents realized by him. The revenue has been enhanced from Rs. 5,990-4 to Rs. 7,999-11. The estate is still very much under-assessed and the assessment is often very unequal. The opportunity of making a fair assessment was lost by the Subdivisional Officer of Chāndpur who made the last settlement and will not occur again. The tenants are extremely litigious and include several with legal qualifications.

241. Estate No. 1996 is very scattered. It has land in no less than 68 villages in the south-west of the district, and

Estate No. 1996.

three in *than* Rāmganj of Noakhali, but usually in small parcels. Conditions were found to vary considerably between one locality and another, for some of the villages are as much as 20 miles apart, and the same manner of assessment could not well be applied to all parts of the estate. All the rents had been treated as lump rentals at the last

settlement. In the villages nearer Chāndpur it was found that there were no established rates in neighbouring estates and the existing rents in this estate were enhanced by 4 annas in the rupee, an enhancement justified on the grounds of rise in prices. The enhancement was not made in the case of *raiya*t whose existing rent was at more than Rs. 4-8 per acre and no rents were enhanced so as to raise them higher, although existing higher rents were maintained. Further from Chāndpur it was found that there were established rates in surrounding properties. There the rents of tenants in this estate were enhanced up to the prevailing rates in the same villages which varied from Rs. 2-8 up to Rs. 4. Tenure-holders were allowed 20 per cent. except six of them who were given 25 per cent. as their existing rents were low. The total revenue of the estate was enhanced from Rs. 8,562-10-3 to Rs. 10,835-7. Certain blocks of land which the estate held jointly with private estates were separated under Regulation VII of 1822.

Other estates of the group for which revision of land revenue was made.

242. The remaining estates of the group for which revision of revenue was made are much smaller. The following table shows the manner of their assessment :—

Estate No.	Name and nature of estate	Manner of assessment of raiyat's rents.	Manner of assessment of rent of middlemen.	REMARKS.
1436	Tāluk Jakir Gāzi, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rental enhanced 4 annas per rupee.	No middlemen.	Revenue decreased from Rs. 9-2-8 to Rs. 3-10 on account of dilution.
1855	<i>Dihi</i> 5 of Mehār, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced 4½ annas per rupee.	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 27-8 to Rs. 33-8.
1874	Tāluk Rām Kishor Basu, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Definite existing rates had been ignored at the last settlement. All-round rate of Rs. 3-12 now fixed.	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 163-15-3 to Rs. 299-1.
1875	Kardi, <i>dihi</i> 16, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced 4½ annas per rupee.	20 per cent. to farmer.	A farming lease was given by way of compromise with a purchaser to whom the Collector had by mistake sold the property as a temporarily-settled private estate in 1916. Revenue raised from Rs. 420-11-3 to Rs. 513-14.
1927	<i>Diārā mahāl</i> Char Shekdi, temporarily-settled private estate.	Definite existing rates had been ignored at the last settlement; rate settled now Rs. 4 per acre.	No middlemen.	<i>Diārā</i> estate, alluvial formation in river Dākāitia. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue Rs. 246-6.
1930	Char Basanta, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Definite existing rates had been ignored at the last settlement. Rupees 3 per acre now fixed.	Ditto ...	Alluvial formation in river Dākāitia. Revenue increased from Rs. 265-9-7 to Rs. 304-12.
1936	Kimnat Algi <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Definite existing rates had been ignored at the last settlement. All-round rate Rs. 4-4 per acre now fixed.	Ditto ...	A number of purchased <i>khārija tāluka</i> in 14 villages amalgamated into 1 estate. Revenue raised from Rs. 317-12 to Rs. 281-14.
1944	Tāluk Basi Rām Dās, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced 5½ annas per rupee.	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 69-5-7 to Rs. 97-9.
1954	Tāluk Churamani Chakra, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced 4½ annas per rupee.	Ditto ...	A small portion formerly held jointly with <i>khās mahāl</i> estate No. 1931 has been separated. Revenue raised from Rs. 210-2-9 to Rs. 262-9.
1958.	Tāluk Gauri Ghosh, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced 4 annas per rupee.	Ditto ...	A portion not dealt with under Tenancy Act being <i>urban</i> . Revision of assessment left to Collector. Rent-roll of portion assessed Rs. 55-6.
1965	Tāluk Jāfar Khān, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rate settled Rs. 5 per acre ...	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 15-3-8 to Rs. 16-3.
1980	Tāluk Mainuddin Kukuri, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rentals enhanced by 5½ annas per rupee.	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 203-11-1 to Rs. 253.
1981	Tāluk Pasurām Ghosh.	One plot ...	Ditto ...	Revenue raised from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 1-11.

Estate No.	Name and nature of estate.	Manner of assessment of raiyat's rents.	Manner of assessment of rent of middlemen.	REMARKS.
1983	Char Rānatālī <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates were ignored at the last settlement, rents treated as lump rentals and enhanced 2 annas per rupee. Rate of Rs. 4-3 per acre now assessed.	No middle-man.	An alluvial formation in the Dākāitīa river. Revenue increased from Rs. 369-9 to Rs. 440-8.
1984	Purchāudi Nāora 1 anna share, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rate settled Rs. 3-8 per acre ...	Ditto ...	Most of the estate urban and assessment left to Collector, rent-roll of agricultural portion Rs. 5-2.
1991	Tāluk Rati Nāth Chakra, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Lump rental enhanced 4½ annas per rupee.	Ditto ..	Revenue decreased from Rs. 65-7-3 to Rs. 59-12. A portion formerly wrongly recorded in estate 1954.
2028	Char Sāpua, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rupees 3-6 per acre now fixed	Ditto ..	Alluvial formation in river Dākāitīa. Revenue increased from Rs. 110-6-8 to Rs. 153-5.
2029 and 3121	<i>Diārā mahāl</i> Santoshpur, <i>khās mahāl</i> and temporarily settled private estate.	Definite existing rates ignored at last settlement; rate of Rs. 4-4 per acre now fixed.	Ditto ...	Accretion in river Dākāitīa to <i>khās mahāl</i> 1996 and private estate which were joint. Partition of accretion affected under Regulation VII of 1822. In private <i>diārā</i> estate No. 3121 now formed proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue Rs. 479-14 for <i>khās mahāl</i> and Rs. 282-13 for private estate. Former revenue Rs. 460-1.

The Block of alluvial formation south-west of Chandpur.

243. The larger and more important estates of the block of alluvial formations in the south-west of Chāndpur thana were dealt with by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur. The assessment on the estates covering Char Hāim, Char Bairāgi and Nilkamal was revised by him. The largest estate that remained to be dealt with was that bearing Tauzi No. 1863 covering Ishānbāla and Char Ishānbāla. These villages were surveyed by the Settlement Officer of Faridpur but the estate was not ripe for resettlement. The maps and records were revised from the *bujhārat* stage except for two sheets of the maps in which such extensive changes had been taken place that resurvey was necessary. In one part the tenants' boundaries were in confusion and upon their joint petition the lines of the former settlement map were relaid and marked for them on the ground and they agreed to accept the boundaries so demarcated. On the west there was a dispute between the *Khās Mahāl* Department and the Hāturīa estate of Bakarganj. The old occupied portion of estate No. 1863 was not affected and the Settlement Department was not dealing with the new formations for which a settlement proceeding had been begun by the Subdivisional Officer of Chāndpur a year or more earlier. However the Revenue Survey line of the Hāturīa estate was relaid under my supervision by a Settlement *kānūngo* and is being made the basis of a compromise between the Collector of Tippera and the Hāturīa estate. The long drawn-out settlement proceedings started for the new land by the Subdivisional Officer have produced a state of confusion, but the area for which a rent-roll was prepared under section 104 of the Tenancy Act are not affected. Estate No. 1863 is exceedingly fertile. The current rate was Rs. 2-12 per acre. This has been raised to Rs. 3-6, the enhancement being justified on the ground of rise in prices. Progressive enhancements were allowed when the enhancement of an individual's rent was more than 33 per cent. but were not really necessary as the tenants are exceedingly well-off. The current demand Rs. 6,036-1 will be increased to Rs. 9,748-13 by the time the progressive enhancements have reached their final level: some Rs. 1,436 of the increase is due to increase of area. The tenants filed not a single objection under section 104E to the assessment.

244. The remaining estates dealt with in this group were the two *khās māhāl*s bearing Nos. 1857 and 1967 and the two private *diāra* estates Nos. 2093 and 2098. The manner in which they were dealt with is shown in the following table :—

Estate No.	NAME.	Manner of assessment of raiyats, rents.	Allowance to middleman.	REMARKS.
1857	Char Gāzipur Manipur <i>khās mahāl</i> .	The existing rate of Re. 1-11 per acre was very low ; a rate of Rs. 2-10 has now been fixed and justified by the rates in surrounding villages. This rate is low for such land as this estate contains and was accepted by the tenants without a single objection.	No middleman.	Revenue increased from Rs. 870-1-2 at the last regular settlement to Rs. 1,266-15. There had however been settlements of new land by the <i>khās mahāl</i> staff during the currency of the last settlement.
1967	Char West Krishnapur, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates were ignored at the last settlement and the rents treated as lump rentals and enhanced by 4 annas in the rupee. They are very low. A rate of Rs. 2-10 has been imposed and justified by the rates in surrounding villages. Higher contractual rents under middleman maintained.	A single tenure covers almost half the estate. Allowance 20 per cent.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,688-15-8 to Rs. 2,928-4. Under-raiyats cultivate a quarter of the estate. Most of the cultivators are Namasndras. A considerable part of the increase is due to extension of cultivation.
2093	<i>Diāra</i> Char Porāmukhi, temporarily-settled private estate.	Rents were first settled in 1882 at Rs. 2-4 per acre but the Assistant Settlement Officer at the next settlement treated the rents as lump rentals and enhanced them 2 annas in the rupee. A rate of Rs. 3-8 has now been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices.	No middlemen.	An alluvial formation on a branch of the Meghna on the southern boundary of the district. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 358-7-9 to Rs. 483-8. <i>Raiyati</i> -holdings covering half the estate are in the hands of non-cultivators and are cultivated by under-raiyats.
2098	<i>Diāra</i> Char Gāndamāra, temporarily-settled private estate.	Rents were assessed at the last settlement at Rs. 2-10 per acre. Raised now to Rs. 3-8 on the ground of rise in prices.	Ditto ...	An alluvial formation adjoining estate No. 2093. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 268-5-7 to Rs. 357-15. <i>Raiyati</i> -holdings covering nearly half the estate are in the hands of non-cultivators and are cultivated by under-raiyats.

The alluvial formations up and down the Meghna from Chandpur to the north of the district.

245. It will be convenient to describe *thana* by *thana* the estates dealt with under section 104 of the Tenancy Act among these. The estates in Chāndpur *thana* were island formations, not accretions, for in the northern part of the *thāna* the Meghna has for many decades slowly cut away the Tippera bank. The islands are liable both to diluvion and to alluvion and are constantly changing shape. The demand for land is great and tenants are prepared to put down a crop of *boro*-paddy on a mud bank which may only appear for a few weeks when the river is at its lowest. They also plant *hugla* grass on the *chars* to collect silt the quicker and raise them high enough to bear a crop of *aus*-paddy or jute. The rates, settled 15—20 years ago, were usually in the region of Re. 1-8 per acre, but the *khās mahāl* staff, which has been very active in making settlements of late years, has fixed initial rents for new land at Rs. 3 per acre. The land is usually parcelled out to tenants in absurdly long and narrow plots and has often been parcelled out before

it is really land at all, and before any sort of demarcation of boundaries is possible. The result is that the tenants are always squabbling about their boundaries and the inferior *khās mahāl* staff makes money in dealing with petitions from individual tenants to have their holdings marked out. A much disputed new formation adjoining Char Prakāsh and Char Nandalal has now been cut up into holdings on the *killabandi* system and the holdings included in the rent-roll of the estates, but the selection of tenants proved very difficult as there were three parties among the applicants. In the case of Char Poa though there had only been one raiyatwari settlement before, though definite rates had been applied and the estate had always been held *khās*, the Assistant Settlement Officer at the last settlement reported that he could not do other-wise than accept the existing rents as lump rentals which he enhanced by 4 annas per rupee. The following table describes the manner of assessment in the several estates for which revision of revenue was made :—

Estate No.	Name.	Manner of assessment upon raiyats.	Manner of assessment on middlemen.	REMARKS.
1949	Char Poa, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates ignored at last settlement : rents treated as lump rentals and enhanced 4 annas in the rupee. A rate of Rs. 3 per acre now imposed and justified on the ground of rates in other estates in the locality.	No middlemen	Revenue increased from Rs. 218-11 to Rs. 402-12.
1971	Madhyam Chari, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate only Re. 1-8 per acre, but a large new formation had been assessed by <i>khās mahāl</i> staff at Rs. 4-8. The latter rate was too high. Rupees 3-2 per acre has now been imposed and enhancement of old rents justified on the ground of improvement of soil by fluvial action.	Ditto ...	The <i>char</i> is now joined on to the mainland in the very north-western corner of the <i>thana</i> . Revenue increased from Rs. 303-10-3 at the last settlement (exclusive of the settlements of new land by the <i>khās mahāl</i> staff) to Rs. 903.
1972	Char Mahes-mūri, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates Rs. 3-13-3 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5-8-9 for homestead. An all-round rate of Rs. 4-4 per acre has now been imposed. Enhancement for <i>nāl</i> rate justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Ditto ...	A much more fully developed estate than others in this group. Revenue increased from Rs. 755-5-11 to Rs. 925.
2005	Char Nandalāl, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rate at last settlement Re. 1-11 per acre, but a large area of accretions had been assessed by <i>khās mahāl</i> staff at Rs. 3. Rupees 3 now imposed throughout estates and justified on the grounds of rates in other estates in the locality. <i>Lāikābad</i> settled at Re. 1-8.	Ditto ...	Revenue increased from Rs. 840-8-6 to Rs. 2,219-8. Large increase in area.
2068	Char Manahar-kāndi, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	A rate of Rs. 3 imposed and justified on the ground of rates in other estates in the locality.	Ditto ...	The estate has been very much diluviated. Revenue diminished from Rs. 295-2 to Rs. 58-3 on account of diluvion.
2472	Char Prakās, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	A rate at last settlement only Re. 1-8 per acre, but a large area of accretions had been assessed by <i>khās mahāl</i> staff at Rs. 3. Rupees 3 now imposed throughout the estate and justified on grounds of rates in other estates in the locality. <i>Lāikābad</i> settled at Re. 1-8.	Ditto ...	Much increase of area since last settlement. Revenue increased from Rs. 449-9 at last settlement (exclusive of settlements by <i>khās mahāl</i> staff) to Rs. 1,272-3.

246. The estates dealt with in Matlab *thana* had formed either in the bed of the river called the Gumti which passes the *thana* headquarters or in the main stream of the Meghna on the west. The land of those along the Gumti was found to be far more fertile and far less liable to diluvion and to damage from floods than those on the main stream. The latter were newer formations and land in some of them had been settled by the *Khās Mahāl* staff at rates which were too high to be fair, but which the tenants had willingly paid on account of the great demand for land. There has been little or no enhancement in these estates except on account of increase of area. The rates in almost all the estates along the Gumti were found to be very low. The *chars* had improved very much indeed since the last settlement, and now having been raised high enough to produce a good jute crop the land was found able to bear a considerably enhanced rent. The enhancement in these cases was justifiable on the ground of improvement due to fluvial action. The manner of the assessments made under section 104 of the Tenancy Act in the estates dealt with is shown in the following table :—

Estate No.	Name and nature.	Manner of assessment on raiyats.	Manner of assessment on middlemen.	REMARKS.
1873	Char Uined, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	The existing rate of rent Rs. 3 per acre has not been changed.	No middlemen.	On the main stream of the Meghna. Revenue increased from Rs. 123-12 to Rs. 175-1 for increase in area.
1922	Mahāl Hainergāon, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate of Rs. 4-1-7 per acre raised to Rs. 4-8.	Ditto ...	On the Gumti well above Matlab. At last settlement a farmer was allowed to give a <i>kabuliyat</i> in the standard form for a proprietor. Farin has not been renewed but there has been no objection from him. Revenue increased from Rs. 246-10 to Rs. 396-11.
1928	Khās Uddamdi, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates ranging from Rs. 2-12 upwards, average Rs. 9, have been enhanced to Rs. 3-8 on the ground of fluvial action.	Tenure-holder's allowance fixed at 25 per cent.	On the Gumti. Revenue increased from Rs. 605-15-9 to Rs. 740-15.
1937	Char Algi Mukuudi, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates were as many as seven of which the lowest was Re. 1-11. An all-round rate of Rs. 2-12 was imposed and justified on the ground of fluvial action.	No middlemen.	On the Gumti. Revenue increased from Rs. 180-11-4 to Rs. 336-10.
1978	Char Pāthālia, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates were very low Re. 1-2, Re. 1-8 and Re. 1-14 per acre. These were raised to Rs. 2-12 on the ground of fluvial action.	Ditto ...	On the Gumti some distance above Matlab Revenue increased from Rs. 343-4-8 to Rs. 547-5.
2092	Char Subandi, Temporarily settled private estate.	Existing rent of Re. 1-15-6 low but raised only to Rs. 2-8. The land is not fertile.	Ditto ...	A <i>diāra</i> estate on main stream of Meghna temporarily settled. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent Revenue increased from Rs. 414-14 to Rs. 529-3.
2097	Chāriāni Diāra, Temporarily settled private estate.	Existing rate Rs. 2-12 enhanced to Rs. 3-2 only.	Ditto ...	Revenue increased from Rs. 248-8-9 to Rs. 491-11. On main stream of the Meghna. Considerable increase in area
2170	Char Elliot, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate of Rs. 3 per acre raised only to Rs. 3-2.	Ditto ...	On the main stream of the Meghna. Revenue increased from Rs. 283-3 to Rs. 326-10.
2380	Char Ganga, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rate raised from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 3-2 on ground of fluvial action.	Ditto ...	One plot only. Revenue increased from Rs. 3-7 to Rs. 6.

Estate No.	Name and nature.	Manner of assessment on raiyats.	Manner of assessment on middlemen.	REMARKS.
2526	Char Uddamdi, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Rs. 1-8 per acre raised to Rs. 2-12 on the ground of fluvial action. The soil is very fertile.	Tenure-holder over whole estate, allowance 25 per cent.	On the Gumti. Revenue increased from Rs. 109-4 to Rs. 258-2.
2527	Char Neza, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate of Rs. 1-14 per acre low, but raised to Rs. 2-8 only.	No middlemen.	On the main stream of the Meghna. Revenue increased from Rs. 46-11-6 to Rs. 74-13.
2547	Char Idris, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Rs. 2-4 has not been increased. The land is not fertile.	Ditto ...	On the main stream of the Meghna. Revenue decreased from Rs. 125-14 to Rs. 121-2.
2528	Char Kāsim, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	A <i>char</i> only a few years old. Tenants were selected by the <i>Khās mahāl</i> staff from 2 villages. Those of one succeeded in keeping those of the other from possession and are now found in possession of the whole <i>char</i> . Fair rents have been settled for them for the land found in the possession of each. The <i>khās mahāl</i> rate Rs. 3-12 was too high for such land. Rent has now been assessed at Rs. 3-2.	Ditto ...	In the main stream of the Meghna. Revenue increased from Rs. 568-4 to Rs. 571-15. There has been a considerable increase of area.
2649	Char Faijuddin, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Rs. 3 per acre raised only to Rs. 3-2.	Ditto ...	In the main stream of the Meghna. A <i>Killabandi</i> settlement was made by Settlement Officer, Faridpur, for five years. <i>Khās Mahāl</i> staff subsequently made settlements of an area which is still under water. Revenue increased from Rs. 153-7 at the last settlement (exclusive of settlements subsequently made by <i>khās mahāl</i> staff) to Rs. 241-6.

247. The alluvial estates in Daudkandi *thana* for which rent-rolls were prepared under section 104 of the Tenancy Act lay on or near the Kāthālia river. Two of them are *diāra* estates on the Gumti river—the Gumti that passes Comilla—just before it meets the Kāthālia. The land of these is very fertile and grows excellent crops of jute. The *raiya* rates have been raised in them to Rs. 4-11 per acre. In two *diāra* estates on the Kāthālia river near the point at which it leaves the Meghna rates of Rs. 4-8 and Rs. 4-4 were employed, but further down the river lower rates of assessment were accepted as fair. The manner of assessment on the several estates is to be gathered from the following table :—

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Manner of assessment of rents of raiyats.	Manner of assessment of rents of middlemen.	REMARKS.
1921	Diāra Hābātia, temporarily settled private estate.	The rate fixed at the last settlement was Rs. 2-13 per acre but the proprietor immediately raised the rents of certain <i>raiya</i> so that the average paid was Rs. 3. Rents have now been assessed at Rs. 3-12 per acre. The enhancement being justified on the ground of rise in prices.	No middlemen.	Temporarily settled private estate on the Kāthālia river. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 90 to Rs. 150-14.
1931	Char Durgarāmpur, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Rate Rs. 4-11	Ditto ...	Very small estate. Revenue Rs. 7-13.

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Manner of assessment of rents of raiyats.	Manner of assessment of rents of middlemen.	REMARKS.
1926	Char Saraswati, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Rs. 3 per acre raised to Rs. 3-12 and enhancement justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Tenure-holders who hold the estate were allowed 25 per cent., which was raised by the Director of Land Records on appeal under section 104G to 30 per cent.	On the Kāthālia river. The Nāgs of Bāradi claimed proprietary rights. They had been allowed at last settlement to give <i>kabuliyat</i> on the form for proprietors, but had previously been called <i>ijāradārs</i> . It was found that they had a permanent middle right. Revenue increased from Rs. 639 to Rs. 836-10-6.
1966	Char Kāthālia, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rates Re 1-9, Rs. 2-1-9 and Rs. 2-6-3 for <i>nāl</i> land and higher rates for <i>basat</i> , <i>zirat</i> , etc. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-2 per acre introduced. Enhancement of rent of lands formerly assessed at lowest rate justified on the ground of improvement of the soil by fluvial action.	No middlemen.	On the Kāthālia river. Revenue increased from Rs. 810-8-8 to Rs. 1,399-13.
2071	Nandanpur Diāra, temporarily settled private estate.	Existing rate of Rs. 3-12 per acre raised to Rs. 4-4 on the ground of rise in prices.	Ditto ...	Diāra estate on the Gumti. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 50-10 to Rs. 60-15.
2077	Diāra Gouribhangā, temporarily settled private estate.	Existing rate of Rs. 3-12 raised to Rs. 4-4 on the ground of rise in prices.	Ditto ...	Diāra estate on the Kāthālia near the point at which it leaves the Meghna. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue Rs. 255-8.
2081	Diāra Dim Char, temporarily settled private estate.	Existing rate of Rs. 3-12 raised to Rs. 4-4 on the ground of rise in prices.	An <i>ijāradār</i> put in by proprietor allowed 12½ per cent. deducted from proprietary allowance.	Diāra estate on the Gumti. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 68-8 to Rs. 92-2.
2084	Diāra Pārband, temporarily settled private estate	Existing rates Rs. 4-2 and Rs. 4-5 per acre raised only to Rs. 4-8.	No middlemen.	Diāra estate on Kāthālia river near the point at which it leaves the Meghna. Revenue increased from Rs. 235-9 to Rs. 355-3.
2494	Char Satyadās, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Re. 1-8 raised to Rs. 2-12 on the ground of fluvial action.	Ditto ...	Opposite police station. Revenue increased from Rs. 20 to Rs. 33-6.
2894	Char Jazira, <i>khās mahāl</i> .	Existing rate Rs. 3 raised to Rs. 3-6	Ditto ...	An inland in the lower reaches of the Kāthālia river. Revenue increased from Rs. 574-4 to Rs. 693-4.
2914 & 2953	Two very small <i>khās mahāls</i> .	{ Rent settled at Rs. 3 ... { Rent settled at Rs. 2-12 ...	{ Ditto ... { Ditto ...	{ Revenue increased from Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-10. { Revenue increased from Rs. 5-5 to Rs. 8-8.

248. North of the point where the Kāthālia river leaves the Meghna alluvial formations are very much fewer. Moreover the activity of the Meghna is confined within much narrower limits, and the narrow strip of Tippera surveyed from Dacca, although sometimes going no further back than the village on the bank of the Meghna, included almost all that had been formed within the last century. The largest estate for which a rent-roll was framed under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act in Thana Nabinagar was Char Gosāinpur, a *diāra* estate formed as accretion to Sarāil *pargana* at the

Estates dealt with in Nabinagar and Bāshmanbāria thanas.

s and the Pagla rivers. The second and third in importance and Nilakhi Samiābād are *khās mahāls* formed in the above of Bāncharāmpur police-station. The manner of estates dealt with in Nabinagar *thana*—one extends into and besides it there were no others in Brāhmānbāria to town in the following table :—

	Manner of assessment of raiyats' rents.	Manner of assessment upon middlemen.	REMARKS.
	Existing rate Rs. 3-8 per acre raised to Rs. 4-8 on the ground of rise in prices.	No middlemen.	Very fertile land within the region where hemp is grown. Revenue increased from Rs. 826-4-8 to Rs. 956-3.
Private.	Existing rates ranged from Rs. 2-7-6 upwards, but most of the land was formerly settled at the lowest rate. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-4 per acre has been imposed.	Ditto ...	The estate is low-lying and the rate Rs. 3-4 is to be considered sufficiently high. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent, Revenue increased from Rs. 1,037-6-2 to Rs. 1,413-6.
Samia- <i>khā</i> <i>hāl</i> .	Existing rates were high, Rs. 3-7-9, Rs. 4-3-6 and Rs. 4-11-3 per acre for 3 classes of <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5-5 for homestead, but most of the cultivated area was settled as 2nd class <i>nāl</i> land. An all-round rate Rs. 4-8 has now been imposed.	Ditto ..	There has been considerable increase in the area under cultivation. Revenue increased from Rs. 281-1-6 to Rs. 471-15.
2061	rathepur, Temporarily-settled private estate.	Ditto ...	A <i>diāra</i> estate of <i>pargana</i> Sarāil near the mouth of the Titās. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 85-0-3 to Rs. 114-11.
2094	A char off Asuganj Bazar. Temporarily settled private estate.	Ditto ...	A <i>diāra</i> estate of <i>pargana</i> Sarāil. Proprietary allowance 30 per cent. Revenue increased from Rs. 77-10-4 to Rs. 149-14.

The small *khās mahāl* No. 2101 was mistakenly included by the Settlement Officer of Dacca in the temporarily-settled private estate No. 2079, in *mauza* Char Bāhir, when he prepared a rent-roll for that estate under section 104 of the Tenancy Act. The Tippera *khās mahāl* staff continued however to collect their old rent from the *khās mahāl* tenants who thus paid twice over. The mistake has been set right by the preparation of a fresh record-of-rights for estate No. 2101 showing the *rai-yats* as holding under Government with the rents fixed for them by the Settlement Officer of Dacca.

The Baradakhāt *khās mahāls*.

249. The "Joārs" of Baradākhāt which remained *khās mahāls* when the rest of the two-thirds share of the *pargana* was *daimi* settled* lie in blocks all over the *pargana* in *thanas* Nabinagar, Muradnagar and Daudkandi. Formerly all of them were included under one number 1933 in the *tauzi* roll, but at the last settlement that number was retained only for Joār Krishnagar, the largest of them, and the rest were given separate numbers. The current settlement in the case of almost all of them had expired when the new record-of-rights was attested, but a few had been settled with middlemen for a longer period than the usual 15 years and were not yet ripe for resettlement.

* For the history of Baradākhāt *pargana* see paragraph 136 above.

250. Only two of the Joārs of the Baradākhāt in Tippera in which there were no *talukdars* survived the decade between 1860 and 1870 when the *daimi* settlements were made and were dealt with during the present proceedings for re-settlement of land revenue, estates Nos. 2707 Joār Gandra and 2718 Joār Nabipur. The cultivators hold direct under Government in two other estates that were dealt with, those bearing *tauzi* Nos. 2728 and 2729, Joār Ratanpur, for there the *tālukdārs* have not held the estates since the settlement before last. Some of the *khās mahāls* in Chāpitala hold no middlemen but they are estates which were *daimi* settled and have since come again into Government's hands at sales for arrears of revenue. In all the remaining estates there are *tālukdārs*. These persons are the successors of persons who were *patnidārs* under the old *zamindārs* before 1835. The Collector refused to recognize them as retaining any permanent rights after the revenue sale as their *patnis* had been created after the Permanent Settlement, and some of them sought to establish their rights in the Civil Court. Among those who did so were the *tālukdārs* in estates 1914, 2687, 2716, 2724, 2726 and 2733. They failed without exception and the reason they are now found in possession is that Government subsequently agreed to give them middle rights at rents subject to revision from time to time. In these estates as well as in almost all the other Baradākhāt *khās mahāls* in Tippera the *tālukdārs* at the time of the present revision of the assessments put forward claims to be proprietors. At the last settlement, although some of them, those of estates 2716 Joār Malipāra and 2733 Joār Taurki were only given an allowance of 20 per cent. and those of estate 2730 Joār Shāhapur Dighirpār were given an allowance which works out at 22½ per cent., most of them were given 30 per cent. and were allowed to give *kabuliyats* in the standard form for proprietors of temporarily settled estates. Their names appear in the Collector's combined register where they are mentioned as *Myadi Patni Tālukdārs*, a designation which amounts to a contradiction in terms. In the case of some of the estates there is mention of the *tālukdārs* in the Collector's correspondence as "quasi proprietors" whatever that may mean. but on the contrary there were definite orders of the Board of Revenue in 1874 that the word *mālikāna* was not to be used in connection with them.

The decision of the claim of the *tālukdārs* to be proprietors has gone against them in every case on the following grounds :—

- (1) The *tālukdārs* trace the origin of their interest to their having been middlemen under the old proprietor.
- (2) There is no evidence of any proposal made to any competent authority to transform them from middlemen to proprietors, nor any orders on the subject.
- (3) No consideration was given in the shape of premium as in the case of *daimi* settlements or the settlements in pargana Mehar* for promotion from middlemen to proprietor.
- (4) The property having once been made subject to the Permanent Settlement Regulation, its inclusion in a temporary proprietary settlement would have been legally incorrect. This points to the probability that when temporary settlements were made they were not intended to be proprietary.
- (5) As long ago as 1874 the Board pointed out that the use of the word *malikana* in connection with the *tālukuks* was incorrect.
- (6) In the last settlement record the status of the *tālukdārs* was usually not recorded, but it is significant that unculturable land was sometimes recorded as Government's own property.

The last settlements of the Baradākhāt *khās mahāls* were in the case of most of the estates in Tippera concluded by the same Assistant Settlement Officer. It is not clear that after mature deliberation he concluded that the *tālukdārs* were proprietors. On the contrary, though the *kabuliyats* he took spoke of them as proprietors, in his reports he usually called them *tālukdārs*.

* *Vide supra*, paragraph 127.

which term without a qualifying adjective conveys the idea of a middle right. Even the *kabuliyats* themselves mention the settlement as being made under Chapter X of the Tenancy Act. The settlement of fair rent for a middleman is made under the Tenancy Act, but the settlement with a proprietor is concluded under Regulation VII of 1822. It is to be concluded that the *kabuliyats* were probably taken on a wrong form through a mistake due to nothing but carelessness. Even if the Assistant Settlement Officer did know what he was doing, since the agreements contained in them are not the origin of the tenancies to which they refer, the mistake in form made by a subordinate officer is not to be considered significant.

The question of the *status* of the Baradākhāt *tālukdārs* is not a new one. Baradākhāt *pargana* extends into Dacca district and the revision of the revenue of some of the *khās mahāls* there was undertaken by the Settlement Officer. He found the *tālukdārs* to be middlemen and not proprietors, and his conclusion was confirmed by the Director of Land Records in appeal No. 17 of 1914-15 filed under section 104 G. The Board of Revenue came to the same finding and expressed it in resolutions No. 1862, dated 15th August 1912, and No. 426A. B.T.R.M., dated 17th December 1917.

At this settlement in Tippera an allowance of 25 per cent. has been given to those *tālukdārs* who at the last settlement had 30 per cent. although the usual allowance for a middleman in a *khās mahāl* is only 20 per cent. This has been done to relieve them of the hardship of an immediate reduction to 20 per cent. Though most of the *tālukdārs* have gone through the form of filing an objection under section 104 E, the case against their proprietary claim is overwhelming, and I think they are on the whole not dissatisfied with having been allowed 25 per cent. A few who appealed to the Director of Land Records under section 104 G were given an increased allowance of 27½ per cent, but were not found to be proprietors.

At the conclusion of the settlement of the estates dealt with by the Settlement Officer of Dacca he took *kabuliyats* from the *tālukdārs* in Baradākhāt. I am of opinion that he was wrong in doing so. A *kabuliyat* is taken when a settlement is made under Regulation VII of 1822 and it is also taken when a new tenancy is created under Government in a *khās mahāl*. On this occasion what has been done is that fair rent for an existing middle right has been settled by a Revenue Officer acting under section 104, etc., of the Tenancy Act. His proceeding completes the settlement. It does not require a contract between Government and the middleman to complete it. If the middleman is asked to sign such a *kabuliyat*, the true significance of the Revenue Officer's proceeding is liable to be misunderstood.

251. In the Baradākhāt *khās mahāls* there were at the settlement before

The determination of fair rents for *rāiyāts*.

last, made some 35 years ago, usually three rates for *nāl* (cultivated) land, and rates for *bhiti* (high land), *basat* (homestead sites), etc., which were usually almost double the rates for *nāl*. In the case of some estates at the last settlement the classification was in some manner maintained, and in some the Assistant Settlement Officer treated the existing rents as lump rentals. When he did so his usual plan was to enhance the rents by a small amount per rupee, sometimes 1½ annas, more often 2 annas and in one case as much as 4 annas. In certain instances he adopted another plan. He enhanced the rents of all tenants who were found to pay less than a certain average rate upon the total area of their holdings, leaving the rents of those who paid more untouched. In effect therefore in these cases he introduced an all-round minimum rate. The division of the cultivated land now into classes, for which such divergent rates as those applied to 1st, 2nd and 3rd class *nāl* land 35 years ago would be fair, is impossible. To follow the old classification even if it were now able to be discovered would be altogether unfair. All the *nāl* lands of a village or even of a group of several villages in Baradākhāt away from the Meghna may often now be said to be agriculturally of the same capacity. This has been brought about by the increased growing of jute. The old differences of class mainly depended on level, which determined the suitability of the land for rice. But it is not the best rice lands that make the best jute land. The tenants cannot now point out which lands were formerly classed

as first class, which as second and which as third, and the old classification is certainly lost, but that is not enough reason for treating the rents at lump rentals as the Assistant Settlement Officer did at the last settlement. Throughout the permanently settled parts of Baradākhāt there are definite rates for cultivated land, and there were definite rates in the *khās mahāls* upon which the settlements before last were based.* The usual plan which has been adopted in settlement of fair rents on the present occasion has been to take the middle rate for *nāl* land in the settlement before last, add to it the enhancement which the Settlement Officer imposed at the last settlement and then calculate to what limit this rate could now justifiably be enhanced at the present time on the ground of the rise in prices during the last 15 years. The term is not 15 years in all cases but the justifiable enhancement usually proved to be nearly 5 annas in the rupee. Next the Assistant Settlement Officer would examine how this enhanced rate compared with rates in locality and with what in his experience should be the normal rate for such land as the village contained. He came to the conclusion in most cases that some lesser enhancement would be sufficient to satisfy the legitimate demands of revenue from the cultivated land. Next he turned to the rates for *basat*, *bhiti*, etc. He usually found that the tenants claimed that all the tanks and ditches had been omitted from the old assessment. The examination of the individual cases, however, proved that there had been no universal exclusion of tanks and ditches although some of them must certainly have been excluded. The tenants had no documents nor other evidence of any title to hold tanks rent-free and could not in fact prove which had been assessed and which had not been assessed. The system of applying different rates for *basat* (the actual area occupied by the plinths of the huts and courtyard), gardens, the banks of tanks, patches of thatching grass, etc., and excluding certain ditches and the water area of tanks, comes down from the days when the Bengali method of survey, making a list of plots with their boundaries and their dimensions in two directions, was in use. It is not suitable to assessments upon a plane table survey, for it is impossible on a scale of 16" to the mile to show every little patch which for a strict application of the system ought to be separately treated. The method is specially favoured by landlords' *ōmins* who expect to make much profit to themselves in return for excluding little patches from one class and placing them in another. It is much fairer to all concerned, especially in an area like Baradākhāt where the homesteads are raised at the occupant's expense above the level of the paddy fields, to introduce a simple and even assessment. Having fixed upon the fair rate for cultivated land the Assistant Settlement Officer at the present settlement next examined what would be the result of applying this rate as an all-round rate. Usually some sacrifice of Government revenue was necessarily the result, but as the rate would be applied also to all tanks the sacrifice was considerably reduced. In most of the Baradākhāt *khās mahāl*, the Assistant Settlement Officers proposed all-round rates and having examined the extent of this sacrifice I concluded that it was not too much to pay for a simple assessment which every one would understand and against which there would be none of the innumerable objections and the jealousies which necessarily appear when there are many classes of land and diverse rates assessed upon them. In every estate there was the danger that the imposition of an all-round rate would hit hard such an individual as he who had a holding consisting of only *nāl* land and tank which had formerly been unassessed, and no homestead or garden. In disposing of objections under section 104 E, I made a point of examining the *khātians* of those whose rents had been much enhanced, whether they had filed objections or not, and allowing some remission for all those holdings which contained more tank than had formerly been unassessed than land which had formerly paid at the high *bhiti* rates.

* It appears that at former settlements in the *khās mahāls* where the *nāl* land was divided into three classes most of the area went into the second class and was assessed at the middle rate. Only land of exceptional advantages or disadvantages went into the first or third class.

In a few estates an all-round rate was not adopted as the old rate for *nāl* was very low. But in these cases more remissions had to be given on account of tank area so that there was little profit to the revenue from retaining the old high *bhiti* rates. In a few villages where rates were extremely low legal justification was found in the rates in surrounding villages for imposing an all-round rate higher than the limit to which the existing rate for *nāl* land could justifiably have been enhanced on the ground of rise in prices. Between one estate and another there are still many divergencies in rates which are not justifiable on comparison of the fertility of the soil and the outturn of the crops, but the present settlement has done much towards equalising the burden of taxation. It will be well if at the end of the term of 15 years now to commence the resettlement of all these estates is placed in the hands of the same officer and taken up at the same time. The manner of assessment in the individual estates for which rent-rolls were prepared under section 104 of the Tenancy Act will be gathered from the following table :—

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Name of assessment of raiyati rents.	REMARKS.
1933	Joār Krishnapur, <i>thana</i> Nabinagar	Existing rates were Rs. 2-10 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 3 for <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> . An all-round rate of Rs. 3-4 has been imposed and the enhancement justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue increased from Rs. 7,286-7 to Rs. 9,229-11-9. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 27½ per cent.
2686	Joār Andhirkot, <i>thana</i> Murādnagar.	Existing rates were found higher than in any other estates of the group. <i>Nāl</i> land was assessed in three classes at Rs. 5-1-5, Rs. 5-5 and Rs. 5-8-4 per acre and <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> Rs. 6-2 and Rs. 7-1-2. No attempt was made to increase the assessment upon the <i>raiya</i> as a body. An all-round rate Rs. 5 per acre has been imposed which allowing for some expansion of cultivation has produced almost the same assessment on the <i>raiya</i> as a body as before. Most of the tanks were formerly left unassessed.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,734-4 3 to Rs. 1,991-13. <i>Tālukdārs</i> made no claim to be proprietors. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2687	Joār Bangora, <i>thana</i> Murādnagar.	Rates fixed at the settlement before last were Rs. 3-2-8, Rs. 3-5-4 and Rs. 4-2-8 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5 upwards for <i>basat</i> , etc. The estate is occupied by many <i>bhadralok</i> and the Assistant Settlement Officer at the last settlement left the rents unchanged. Some of the <i>bhadralok</i> tenants held at lower rates than any of those sanctioned in the settlement reports. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-12 has been imposed but the plots in one part of the estate which are a little less fertile have been assessed at Rs. 3-4.	Revenue has increased from Rs. 994-12-4 to Rs. 1,445-3. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2689	Bakarnagar <i>khānelāri</i> , <i>thana</i> Nabinagar.	Assessed at Rs. 4 per acre ...	The site of the house of the old <i>zamindārs</i> . Revenue raised from Rs. 15-14 to Rs. 19.
2690	Joār Daiāra Chāripāra, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi and Murādnagar.	Existing rates from Rs. 3-5-9 to Rs. 4 0-2 per acre for <i>nāl</i> lands with higher rates for <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> . Daiāra is not so well situated as Chāripāra and existing rates in it were somewhat the lower. All-round rates Rs. 4 in Daiāra and Rs. 4-4 in Chāripāra have been imposed and enhancement justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue raised from Rs. 1,707-8-2 to Rs. 2,220 15. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2702	<i>Thana</i> Murādnagar.	Assessed at Rs. 4 per acre ...	Revenue Rs. 11. No middlemen.
2705	Dhānyakhola, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi.	Existing rates Rs. 3-12-9, Rs. 4-3-6 and Rs. 4-10-9 per acre for <i>nāl</i> land divided into three classes, and higher rates for <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> . All-round rate of Rs. 4-8 imposed and enhancement justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue raised from Rs. 244-15-9 to Rs. 343-10. <i>Tālukdār's</i> allowance 25 per cent.

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Name of assessment of <i>raiya</i> rents.	REMARKS.
2706	Joār Gāngerkot, <i>thana</i> Murādnagar and Nābinagar.	Rates Rs. 3-1-9, Rs. 3-10-6 and Rs. 4-0-3 for <i>nāl</i> land and somewhat higher rates for <i>basat</i> , etc., were fixed at the settlement before last. At the last settlement rents were considered sufficiently high and no enhancement was made. An all-round rate of Rs. 4 has now been introduced but the rents of tenants' holdings which are higher than would result for the imposition of this rate have not been reduced. Rupees 4 is below the prevailing rate in this and surrounding <i>mauzas</i> . The estate is not particularly fertile. Its assessment in the past has been high.	Revenue raised from Rs. 1,285-3 to Rs. 1,355-12. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2707	Joār Gandra, <i>thana</i> Murādnagar.	At the settlement before last rates Rs. 2-13, Rs. 3 and Rs. 3-6 were fixed for <i>nāl</i> land and garden and only slightly higher rates for <i>basat</i> . These were ignored at the last settlement, the tenants' rents treated as lump rentals and enhanced 2 annas per rupee. An all-round rate of Rs. 4 has now been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue raised from Rs. 1 002-13 to Rs. 1,359-3. No <i>tālukdārs</i> .
2709	Joār Gauripur, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi.	The existing rates Rs. 3-14-5 per acre for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5-1 for <i>basat</i> , etc. An all-round rate of Rs. 4-11 has been imposed. It is justified on the ground of rise in prices. The increase of revenue is large but the estate is rich, grows fine crops of jute and is very favourably situated, for Gauripur is one of the largest jute markets in the district.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,378 to Rs. 1,902-5. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2711	Junodpur, <i>thana</i> Murād- nagar.	Existing rents at lower rates than Rs. 3-3-7 were raised at the last settlement to that level, higher rents being left untouched. This rate has now been raised to Rs. 4-4 on the ground of rise in prices, but rents of $\frac{1}{2}$ of the tenants have not been changed as they hold already at higher rates.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,022-10-7 to Rs. 1,253-8. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2714	Joār Māhespur. <i>thana</i> Murād- nagar.	The existing rates for <i>nāl</i> land was Rs. 2-15-4 and this was one of the very few <i>Baradākhāt khās mahāls</i> in which the " <i>chukti jama</i> "* for homesteads still remained. They worked out at much higher rate than the rate for <i>nāl</i> land. An all-round rate of Rs. 4 per acre has been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices. Rates in surrounding villages are all higher.	Revenue increased from Rs. 853-1 to Rs. 1,265-6. The <i>tālukdārs</i> at the last settlement were only allowed 20 per cent. and have been allowed the same again.
2716	Joār Malipara, <i>thana</i> Murād- nagar.	Existing rates Rs. 1-11 per acre for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 3-6 for <i>basat</i> , etc., fixed at the settlement before last were every low. Rents were enhanced as lump rentals by 2 annas per rupee at the last settlement. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-12 has now been imposed and justified on the ground of rates in surrounding villages.	Revenue increased from Rs. 334-5 to Rs. 639-10, but half the enhancement comes from reduction of the profits of the <i>tālukdārs</i> . Nominally they were only allowed 20 per cent. at the last settlement but they hold $\frac{1}{2}$ of the estate in their direct possession and were assessed for it at very low rates indeed. The final report does not mention how the assessment was made. Their <i>khās lands</i> have now been valued at the <i>raiya</i> rate and their allowance fixed 20 per cent as before.
2718	Joār Nābipur, <i>thana</i> Murād- nagar.	Rates of the settlement before last Rs. 1-6, Rs. 2-4-9 and Rs. 2-12 per acre for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5-0-9 and Rs. 6-14-3 for <i>basat</i> , etc., were ignored at the last settlement, the tenants' rents treated as lump rentals and enhanced 2 annas per rupee. The introduction of an all-round rate legally justifiable for <i>nāl</i> land would have involved too much sacrifice of revenue. Rates of Rs. 3-4 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 6 for <i>basat</i> , etc. have now been imposed. Tanks had all to be excluded from assessment. This was done on objections under section 104 E.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,835-14 to Rs. 2,314 5-9. There are no middlemen in this estate.

* *Vide supra*, paragraph 220.

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Manner of assessment of <i>raiyati</i> rents.	REMARKS.
2720	Joār Nasar-addin, <i>thana</i> Dāudkāndi.	Rates Rs. 3-12 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5 for <i>basat</i> adopted by the Settlement Officer, Dacca, for the other undivided 8 annas share of the land to which this estate extends have been imposed at this settlement.	The Settlement Officer, Dacca, settled fair rent for estate No. 2719 which comprises the remaining 8 annas of the land to which this estate extends. He did not complete the resettlement of this estate under a mistaken impression that it also had land in a village which he had not surveyed. Revenue has been increased from Rs. 560-9 to Rs. 969-12. No <i>tālukdār</i> .
2721	Joār Nārāinpur share, <i>thana</i> Nābinagar.	Existing rates were Rs. 3-9-10 for <i>nāl</i> land, Rs. 4-12-1 for <i>zirat</i> and Rs. 9-13-1 for <i>basat</i> . An all-round rate of Rs. 4-4 has been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices for the <i>nāl</i> land	Estates 2721 and 2722 were joint with the permanently settled private estate No. 319. The three have been separated under Regulation VII of 1922 during the proceedings for revision of revenue. Revenue of estate 2721 has been increased from Rs. 345-10-5 to Rs. 457-8. <i>Tālukdār</i> 's allowance 25 per cent.
2722	Joār Nārāinpur share, <i>thana</i> Nābinagar.	Ditto ditto.	Revenue increased from Rs. 271-14-8 to Rs. 354-4.
2723	Pirerkāndi <i>thana</i> Nābinagar.	Existing rates were Rs. 2-3, Rs. 3-15-9 and Rs. 4-14 for <i>nāl</i> land, Rs. 5-9-3 and Rs. 5-5 for <i>zirat</i> and <i>basat</i> . An all-round rate of Rs. 4-8 was at first fixed but it was reduced to Rs. 4-6 at the time of objections under section 104E.	Revenue increased from Rs. 424-11-11 to Rs. 592-15. <i>Tālukdār</i> s allowed 25 per cent.
2724	Joār Puskurinirpūr, <i>thana</i> Murād-nagar.	Rates at the settlement before last were Re. 1-3-2, Rs. 2-1-9 and Rs. 2-13-10 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 5-1-9 for <i>basat</i> , etc., were ignored at the last settlement. The tenants' rents were treated as lump rentals and enhanced by 2 annas in the rupee. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-7 was at first imposed but it was reduced to Rs. 3-5 at the time of objections under section 104E. The enhancement of the lowest rate is justified by the rates in surrounding villages.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 2,316-9-2 to Rs. 3,585-5-7. The enhancement is heavy but the estate is a rich one and the tenants much better off than in surrounding villages. There has been some expansion of cultivation. <i>Tālukdār</i> 's allowance 25 per cent.
2725	Joār Rasullābād, <i>thana</i> Nābinagar.	Existing rates were Rs. 3-12 and Rs. 3-15 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 6 for <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> . An all-round rate of Rs. 4-9 has been imposed. It is justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 5,730 to Rs. 7,526. <i>Tālukdār</i> 's allowance 25 per cent.
2726	Joār Rahinpur, <i>thana</i> Murād-nagar.	Rates Rs. 2-1, Rs. 2-7 and Rs. 2-11-6 per acre for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 4-2 and Rs. 5-10 for <i>basat</i> and <i>zirat</i> were fixed at the settlement before last. The rents were left untouched at the last settlement as the tenants offered strong objection to their enhancement. Rates Rs. 3-3 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 4-15 for <i>basat</i> , etc., have now been imposed, but tanks have had to be omitted from assessment.	Revenue increased from Rs. 1,531-12-6 to Rs. 1,766-15. <i>Tālukdār</i> 's allowance 20 per cent. as at last settlement.
2727	Rām-nagar, <i>thana</i> Dāudkāndi.	Existing rates were Rs. 2-8-11, Rs. 2-15-3 and Rs. 3-12-9 for <i>nāl</i> lands and Rs. 3-12-9 and Rs. 7-4-5 for <i>basat</i> , etc. An all-round rate of Rs. 4-4 has been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices, the justifiable enhancement being calculated on the rate for 2nd class <i>nāl</i> land, only a very small area was formerly assessed as 3rd class.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 447-4-6 to Rs. 554. <i>Tālukdār</i> 's allowance 25 per cent.

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Manner of assessment of <i>raiya</i> rents.	REMARKS.
2728 & 2729	Ratanpur, <i>thana</i> Nabinagar.	Existing rates were Rs. 2-8-6, Rs. 2-15-3 and Rs. 3-6 for <i>nāl</i> land and Rs. 7-3-10½ for <i>basat</i> . An all-round rate of Rs. 3-4 has now been imposed justifiable on the ground of rise in prices.	The two estates cover each eight-anna of the same lands. They formerly belonged to different <i>tālukdārs</i> , but the <i>tālukdārs</i> did not take settlement the time before last nor at the last settlement. They were given <i>mālikānā</i> , but not being proprietors had no right to it, and it will not be given again. Their <i>tālukdāri</i> right disappeared when they went out of possession. Revenue of the two estates amalgamated has been increased from Rs. 1,830-8 to Rs. 2,307-4.
2730	Joār Shāhapur, Dighipār, <i>thanas</i> Nabinagar and Murādnagar.	Existing rates Rs. 2-11-9, Rs. 2-15-3 and Rs. 3-2-7 in Shāhapur and Rs. 2-5, Rs. 2-12-8 and Rs. 2-15-10 in Dighirpār for <i>nāl</i> lands and Rs. 3-0-9 to Rs. 3-8-3 for <i>basat</i> , etc. The lands of the two villages are of much the same fertility and an all-round rate Rs. 4-4 has been imposed for both villages.	The <i>tālukdārs</i> at the last settlement were allowed a profit which works out at 22½ per cent. Their allowance now was fixed at 20 per cent., but has been raised to 22½ by the Director of Land Records on appeal under section 104G. Revenue has been increased from Rs. 5,782 to Rs. 6,608-12-11.
2731	Joār Singulia, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi.	Existing rates Rs. 2-1-9, Rs. 2-8-10, Rs. 2-15-3 and Rs. 3-6 for <i>nāl</i> land with higher rates for <i>basat</i> , etc. In this case the Assistant Settlement Officer at the last settlement assessed some of the <i>nāl</i> lands 3rd class by his classification at Rs. 2-1-9 and some of them at Rs. 2-8-10. Similarly some of his 2nd class land he assessed at Rs. 2-8-10 and some at Rs. 2-15-3 and some of his 1st class land he assessed at Rs. 2-15-3 and some at Rs. 3-6. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-6 has now been imposed. The rate of Rs. 2-8-10 may justifiably be enhanced to Rs. 3-6 on the ground of rise in prices. Very little land was assessed formerly at Rs. 2-1-8.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 1,388-3-1 to Rs. 2,020-11. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.
2732	Joār Tinchitā, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi.	Existing rates for <i>nāl</i> land were Rs. 3-6, Rs. 3-12 and Rs. 4-3-6 with higher rates for <i>basat</i> , etc. An all-round rate of Rs. 4-8 has been imposed. The lowest rate for <i>nāl</i> could justifiably be enhanced to this level on the ground of rise in prices. The land of the estate is very fertile.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 940-3-9 to Rs. 1,463. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance raised to 30 per cent. by the Director of Land Records on appeal under section 104G.
2733	Joār Tourki, <i>thana</i> Muktādnagar.	Rates were fixed at the settlement before last at Re. 1-14, Rs. 2-1 and Rs. 3-4 for <i>nāl</i> lands and Rs. 2-10 and Rs. 3 for <i>basat</i> , etc. At the last settlement rents of tenants, the average rent for whose holdings was below Rs. 2-4 per acre, were raised to that level. Higher rents were left unchanged. At the present settlement an all-round rate of Rs. 3 has been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices.	Revenue has increased from Rs. 2,725-12-8 to Rs. 3,388-10. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> who at the last settlement were allowed only 20 per cent. have been given the same allowance again.
2734	Joār Tāmta, <i>thana</i> Daudkandi.	There are three villages, Tāmta, Chandra and Putia Bāsara and at the last settlement there were no less than 34 different rates employed varying from Re. 1-4 to Rs. 8-7. It is now quite impossible to follow how the assessment was made. The prevailing rate in the estate according to the definition of the Tenancy Act is Rs. 3-4. That has been imposed as an all round rate in Putia Bāsara, but the assessment in the other two villages has always been heavier. An all-round rate of Rs. 3-12 was found to be justifiable on the ground of rise in prices taking the lowest previous rates. This has been imposed in these two villages.	Revenue has been increased from Rs. 2,839-3-6 to Rs. 3,665-2. <i>Tālukdārs'</i> allowance 25 per cent.

Estate No.	Name or locality.	Manner of assessment of <i>raiya</i> rents.	REMARKS.
2715, 2735, 2736, 2737 & 2738	Mājhiāra, <i>t h a n a</i> Nābinagar.	Existing rates Rs. 2-15-6, Rs. 3-6, and Rs. 3-15-6 for <i>nāl</i> , Rs. 3-6, Rs. 5-1 and Rs. 6-12 for <i>basat</i> , etc. An all-round rate of Rs. 4-4 has been imposed and justified on the ground of rise in prices. A very small area was assessed at Rs. 2-15-6 at the last settlement.	The village was formerly held under a single <i>tāluk</i> , but was partitioned by the Collector after the last settlement into five parts. The increase of revenue in the five estates together is from Rs. 704-11 to Rs. 965-11-1.
2128	Murādagar old Munsif's Court.	A single plot for which Rs. 3 rent is paid. This rent has been left unchanged.	No middleman. Revenue Rs. 3.
681	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७०	All-round rate Rs. 4 per acre ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 143-15-1 to Rs. 185-5.
684	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७१	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 283-8-7 to Rs. 368-8.
1262	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७२	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 35-9 to Rs. 43-1.
1265	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७३	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 37-14 to Rs. 54-12.
1275	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७४	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 57-10 to Rs. 76-2.
1285	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७५	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 93-11 to Rs. 125-2.
1794	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७६	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 11-10-7 to Rs. 14-3.
1804	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७७	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 14-5 to Rs. 19-7.
1808	J o ā r Chāpītala share ८७८	Ditto ...	<i>Dāimi</i> estate purchased again by Government. No middlemen. Revenue increased from Rs. 17-13 to Rs. 23-4.

252. Where a tenant's rent has been enhanced by more than 33½ per cent., it has ordinarily been allowed to increase

Progressive enhancements. by progressive enhancements so that the full rent is not payable till the 6th year when the increase is between 33½ per cent. and 66½ per cent., and not till the 11th year when the increase is more than 66½ per cent. Corresponding remissions have been allowed to middlemen and proprietors so that the full revenue resulting from the proceedings is not always immediately to be realised. It is the full rent in every case that is the fair rent legally settled and it is in every case settled as the fair rent from the time the new settlement comes into force. The amount by which the rent to be paid for the first 5 years falls short of the full rent settled is a remission, and has legally no connection with the settlement of fair rent at all.

253. When the full revenue, delayed by the progressive enhancements allowed, shall have become payable the result of the proceedings for revision of land revenue will have been to increase the revenue of the *khās mahāl* and temporarily-settled private estates dealt with from Rs. 85,700 to Rs. 1,18,400 in round figures. The enhancement is, therefore, on the average 38 per cent. Something is to be put down to increase in the cultivated area, something more to reduction of the percentage of middlemen's profits, and the rest to the enhancement of the rents paid by *rai-yats*. The result is not to be measured by the increase of revenue. The aim has been to pare down the inequalities in the assessment not only upon individuals within the same estate but between one estate and another. There is no estate which has been assessed more heavily than is fair, but there are still several estates among those dealt with, notably estate No. 1859 in *Pargana* Gunanandi, where tenants are still asked to pay a much smaller fraction of the value of the produce of the soil than in others. Such inequalities of this sort as remain, are partly the legacy of the officers who were responsible for former settlements and partly due to the fact that the law makes no allowance for the landlord to obtain any share of the increased value of the produce of the land which has come from the introduction of a new kind of crop, and affords no means of adjusting very unequal rents in a locality where the existence of no established rates can be proved. The result of the introduction of all-round rates in estates where it was found possible to do so with legal justification and without serious sacrifice of Government revenue has had the very important result of providing an assessment which the tenants are easily able to understand.

254. Although it does not happen by any means as often in Tippera as in Noakhali a *khās mahāl* tenant, who is not able to establish himself in possession of a piece of land which he considers is his by right or finds that the record prepared for a piece of land in which he claims an interest is not to his satisfaction, often serves the Collector with a notice under section 80 of the Civil Procedure Code, preparatory to filing a civil suit against him. Often in the past Government has spent considerable sums in defending such suits instead of leaving the two tenants who are directly interested to fight them out among themselves. There may be a crop of such cases following the present revision of land revenue. Government has nothing to gain by supporting one tenant or another and would be better advised instead of taking part in the contest of such suits to do no more than enter an appearance, point out its position of neutrality, quote section 111A and section 104H of the Tenancy Act if necessary, and put forward a claim for costs for putting in such an appearance whether the suit is lost or won. If the Court will, as it should, grant Government costs in a few instances the evil of unnecessary civil suits against Government may be reduced.

CHAPTER III.

Expenditure and apportionment of costs.

255. Though a final adjustment of the cost of the settlement of Tippera cannot be made until the whole operation is finished, the work is approaching completion and a very close approximation to the total expenditure can be made. The cost of the work in each stage of the preparation of the record in each block based on actual expenditure incurred is known. The expenditure on supervision, supplies and services and contingencies now that the whole operation is drawing to a close can be closely estimated on the basis of actual expenditure up to the end of June 1919 and the small probable expenditure in the future, and apportioned between Noakhali and Tippera on the basis of the area dealt with in each. The cost of case-work can be estimated on the basis of actual expenditure up to the present and an estimate for the future based upon the number of

Expenditure on each stage of the work compared with estimates and standard rates.

officers likely to be employed and the time they are likely to take before it is finished. The expenditure on each stage of the preparation of the record, case-work, supervision, etc., and the rate of expenditure in Tippera compared with the rates of the original estimates and the standard rate* are as follows :—

	Gross expenditure for Tippera.	Rate per square mile for Tippera.	Rate of original estimates.	Standard rate.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.*
Traverse	1,15,909	63†	63	65
Cadastral survey	1,97,004	108†	110	115
<i>Khānapuri</i>	73,638	40†	37	39
Preliminary office work	26,769	15†	18	18
<i>Bujhārat</i>	1,69,108	91‡	86	94
Attestation	93,468	50‡	66	66
Objections	34,332	18‡	27	27
Final Office Work—				
<i>Jānch</i>	47,539	26‡	20	20
Statistics	9,448	5‡	10	10
Final maps	12,023	6‡	6	6
Topo maps	6,740	3§	2	2
Final record	1,13,464	61‡	54	54
Computation and recovery and final publication.	32,722	17‡	20	29
Case-work	39,547	21‡	16	16
Supervision	2,14,782	116‡	161	179
Supplies, services and contingencies	2,69,886	146‡	92	97
Reproduction of maps including Director of Survey's control.	37,245	20‡	25	25
Director of Land Records' control	20,748	11‡	15	15

Excluding the cost of the revision of land revenue the gross expenditure amounts to Rs. 15,23,860 and the rate is, therefore, Rs. 819 per square mile upon 1,848 square miles for which there is a fresh record. The original estimates provided for a gross expenditure of Rs. 26,51,000 (exclusive of Rs. 16,750 for revision of land revenue) on an area of 3,200 square miles. The rate according to the estimates was, therefore, Rs. 828 per mile. The standard rate is Rs. 877 per square mile. In Tippera the saving against the originally estimated gross expenditure is therefore Rs. 9 per square mile, and against the standard rate Rs. 58 per square mile.

Items in which the rates of the original estimates has been exceeded.

256. The rate of the original estimates has been exceeded in the following items :—

	Rs.	
<i>Khānapuri</i>	3	per square mile.
<i>Bujhārat</i>	5	"
<i>Jānch</i>	6	"
Topo maps	1	"
Final record	7	"
Case-work	5	"
Supplies, services and contingencies	54	"

* The standard rate referred to in this chapter is that given in the letter No. 329 addressed by the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Government of India on 15th January 1915.

† Area surveyed 1,829 square miles.

‡ Area increased to 1,848 square miles by area which record was revised from the *bujhārat* stage.

§ Area 2,482 square miles including area of Roshnābād for which topo maps are to be prepared from the 16-inch maps of Mr. Cumming's survey.

Both the standard rate and the original estimates were based on the expectation of finding 1,000 plots and 250 interests per square mile. In Tippera there were 1,472 plots and 365 interests per square mile. This alone is very much more than enough to account for the increase in the cost of *khānapuri*, *bujhārat* and printing. In fact if the standard rate for printing is adjusted for the increased number of plots on the system given in the Government of Bengal's letter No. 329, dated the 11th January 1915, the standard rate rises to above Rs. 80 per square mile. In this item, however, the standard rate is undoubtedly very wrong and the comparison of little value. The fact remains, however, that the working of the press has been as cheap as could possibly have been expected. The reason for the increased expenditure in *jānch* was the policy mentioned in paragraph 232 above of employing Revenue Officers and *kānungos* in *jānch* camps and thus finding good work for them to do in the recess, a time when other Settlement Officers have found it difficult to give them useful employment and their pay has been debited to supervision. A liberal estimate has been given for the cost of the topographical maps of Roshnābād which have not yet been prepared, and the same for case-work which is only beginning. There is reason to expect that the number of applications under section 105 of Tenancy Act will be very much larger in Tippera than in Noakhali.

The increase under the head of supplies, services and contingencies is accounted for as follows :—

- (a) In the original estimates of Rs. 76,000 was set apart for buildings. On the buildings erected by the Public Works Department Rs. 97,850 was spent. Very high rates were paid for piece-work. As much as Rs. 39 per hundred cubic feet was paid for brick-work in parts of the buildings, although there was a brickfield adjoining. The buildings originally erected provided no room for the printing presses, and a further sum of Rs. 12,302 had to be spent on two press sheds and a store-room.
- (b) The original estimate was prepared for an area of 3,200 square miles to be dealt with in Tippera and Noakhali. The diluvion which had taken place in Noakhali was much under-estimated. The area actually dealt with was only 3,010 square miles.
- (c) No provision was made in drawing up the estimates for binding the five public copies of the record and maps and copies purchased by private landlords, the cost of binding of which is included in the gross costs but was realized and appears in the receipts.
- (d) Owing to the war the price of paper for printing the final record, and the paper used in the great quantity of forms which a Settlement requires rose very high, and although every attempt was made to economise in the use of paper, forms and stationery these cost quite 50 per cent. more than in normal times. The rise in prices in many articles besides paper consumed in the Settlement Operations rose also, materials for binding, type, ink, pens, cloth for covering the volumes of the hand-written record, etc. In any case the original estimate was at too low a rate for an area in Eastern Bengal, where transport and labour are so expensive. The estimate worked out at Rs. 94 per square mile under this head, but in the Dacca Settlement which hardly felt the effect of the war at all Rs. 130 per square mile was spent, and in Faridpur no less than Rs. 198.

257. Revision of land revenue was carried out in Tippera over an area of 84 square miles in all at a cost of Rs. 9,537. This is Rs. 113 per square mile. There is no standard rate for this item of settlement work.

A lump sum of Rs. 16,750 was provided in the original estimate for the operations in the two districts, but this allowed only Rs. 50 per square mile and proved inadequate. In Noakhali the estates dealt with were large and compact but the partition proceedings which were found necessary raised the costs considerably. In Tippera the estates were often small and scattered

Moreover the instructions issued by the Director of Land Records in the season 1917-18 providing for publication of the proposals for assessment for one month before the rent-roll was framed and draft published added somewhat to the time taken in the reassessment. The expenditure of Rs. 113 per square mile in Tippera compares very favourably with the expenditure in Dacca where more than Rs. 450 per square mile was spent.

258. Savings were effected against the rates of the original estimates under the following heads :—

			Rs.	
Preliminary office-work	...	...	3	per square mile
Attestation	...	..	16	"
Objections	...	...	9	"
Computation and recovery	...	...	3	"
Supervision	...	...	45	"
Director of Land Records' control	...	...	4	"
Reproduction of maps	...	...	5	"

The savings are the more remarkable when the large number of plots and *khatiāns* per square mile is remembered. The saving in preliminary office work, the cost of which depends directly in the number of plots was due to the arrangement by which *khasra* section work was done in the *kanungos'* camps. The saving in Attestation was partly due to good *Bujhārat* and partly to the fact that so many Revenue officers, who were not also Assistant Settlement officers and drew less pay, were employed. In objections it was due to the fact that a large proportion of the officers employed to decide them were Sub-Deputy Collectors. They drew lower pay than Deputy Collectors would have done, and, being usually promoted *kānungos* thoroughly experienced in settlement work, were better able to deal with the cases expeditiously. The cost of reproduction of maps was kept down in the office of the Director of Surveys by the invention of Mr. Delaney which has obviated the necessity for graining the Vandyke plates by a mechanical process, and by the use of a cheaper paper for all the 16-inch maps except those required for administrative purposes in place of the Bankpost paper which could not have been obtained in sufficient quantity. There has been considerable saving by reducing the number of copies of each village map after a direct and careful estimate of the exact number required for distribution by the system first introduced in Midnapur Settlement and afterwards incorporated in the Director of Land Records' Technical Rules by which an alphabetical list of those who are to receive copies is made in order to ensure that the same man with an interest in more than one tenancy in the same village shall not get two copies of the map free.

259. The standard rate for supervision is Rs. 179 per square mile. This has been reduced by one-third. Some Rs. 5 per square mile is the pay of *kānungos* employed in *jānch* which would otherwise have been debited to supervision. Something is due to the fact that I. C. S. Charge officers were only available during two out of four field seasons and their places were taken by Deputy Magistrates, but the bulk of the saving is due to the speeding up of the settlement in its later years. The result of this has been that the final record for both Tippera and Noakhali has been finished (August 1919) 13 months ahead of the original programme, and, as the Final Reports for both Tippera and Noakhali are complete, I am able to leave the dregs of the Settlement in the hands of the Deputy Collector now employed as Headquarters Assistant Settlement officers a full two years earlier than the original estimates provided for my retention, and at the same time the office staff whose pay is debitable to supervision has been much reduced.

260. The total amount of the receipts of the Settlement of the two districts has been estimated as in the case of the expenditure on supervision, etc., on the basis of actual receipts up till the end of July 1919 and probable future receipts. The

amount under each head for the whole operation extending to both Tippera and Noakhali is :—

	Rs.
Court-fee stamps	2,49,810
Sale of records	43,540
Sale of map	440
Disposal of survey instruments, tents, etc. ...	75,380
To be realized for the value of settlement buildings when made over to Collector	75,000
Total ...	4,42,170

The share of this amount apportioned rateably to Tippera upon the basis of the area dealt with in the two districts is Rs. 2,82,647. The receipt in stamps appears likely to be at the rate of Rs. 80 per square mile. In framing the estimates these receipts were anticipated to be only Rs. 50 per square mile. *

261. The gross expenditure on the Settlement Operations in Tippera excluding cost of revision of land revenue is Rs. 15,23,860. The net expenditure, therefore, amounts to Rs. 12,76,050 which is Rs. 690 per square mile, against Rs. 729 according to the original estimates and Rs. 777 according to the standard rate.

262. Proposals for the apportionment of settlement costs upon landlords and tenants in Tippera were forwarded to the Director of Land Records on the 8th December 1917. Cadastral survey, *khānapuri* and *bujhārat* had been completed for three of the four blocks in the two districts and survey of the fourth had been begun. Attestation of the first two blocks and part of the third was finished. Though less than half the work to be done in Tippera had been completed, very much more than half the work of the settlement in the two districts was done, and the nature of the work to be done in the fourth block was understood for the staff had been out in it for sometime and most of the important *parganas* in it, Baradākhāt, Gangamandal, Dāñāi, Tora, etc., had been touched in the second and third blocks. On the basis of the actual expenditure which had already been incurred and the estimate it was possible to make of the cost of bringing the settlement to a conclusion an approximation to the net total expenditure on the record in Tippera was reached. As the Government of India takes responsibility for no part of the costs of preparing a fresh record for the area of which a record-of-rights exists, the landlords and tenants (and the Local Government where revision of land revenue is being made) were to be held responsible for something more than three-quarters of the total net costs. Following the instructions given in the letter bearing No. 1345 T.-R., addressed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department, to the Director of Land Records on 28th October 1914, it was assumed that the existence of a previous record, when such there was would have so facilitated the preparation of a new one as to reduce the cost by one-quarter. A calculation made on the lines indicated by the instructions showed that the amount to be recovered from landlords and tenants and paid by the Local Government in Tippera should be Rs. 10,81,000. This was in addition to the actual cost of resettlement of land revenue on the basis of the draft records where this was done.

In Noakhali a cess revaluation was carried out by the Settlement staff on the basis of the draft record-of-rights, and to save a double calculation proposals were made and accepted for the apportionment of settlement costs at a multiple of the cess each person was to pay from his own pocket on the new valuation. In Tippera, on the other hand, no cess revaluation was being made, and, as the calculation of cess is a very complicated process, to apply the same method of apportionment to Tippera would have been both expensive and laborious. An apportionment on the basis of area was proposed for Tippera. It was proposed that 13½ annas per acre should be the amount to be realized from landlords and tenants. Allowing for the adoption of certain

minimum charges $13\frac{1}{2}$ annas per acre was expected to recoup the total sum recoverable from landlords and tenants and the Local Government (for record of the area upon which a revision of land revenue was being made). Eight annas was proposed to be recovered from landlords and $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas from occupiers. The proposals were accepted and orders under section 114 of the Tenancy Act were passed in accordance with them. The Notification No. 1571 L.R., dated 13th February 1918, by which these orders were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* has been reprinted and will be found in Appendix VI (c) to this report. The orders differ in one important respect from similar orders which has shortly before been passed for Rajshahi district. In Rajshahi where any proprietor or tenure-holder had sublet in a permanent middle right at a rent fixed in perpetuity the whole burden of the landlord's costs was thrown upon the sublessee. There is justice in this where such permanent middle rights are large, cover for example whole villages and their extent is well-known and completely determined. But in Tippera permanent middle rights were often small. The record was expected to afford the landlords not only an opportunity to obtain increased rent for increase of area brought to light by the survey, but an authentic record which they did not already possess of the tenures held under them. It did not seem just, therefore, that the whole burden of the landlords' share of the costs should fall upon the permanent tenure-holders, and instead each of the latter was to pay $\frac{2}{3}$ of the costs not already apportioned upon tenure-holders of lower grades and $\frac{1}{3}$ was to be passed on to the next superior. Where there were several grades of tenures the necessary calculation became somewhat complicated. It would have been simpler if instead of dividing the costs between the different grades of landlords a fixed charge per acre had been imposed upon the permanent tenure of the lowest grade and a low additional charge had been made upon superior tenures and proprietary rights. Such a manner of apportionment would, in my opinion however, have introduced so large an element of uncertainty into the estimate of the total which the apportionment would yield that there would have been grave danger either that far too little or far too much would have been realized from landlords and tenants to cover the total costs that remain after the Imperial contribution has been deducted. The apportionment of costs upon landlords on the basis of profits which was used in Faridpur and Dacca has since been discarded because of the element of uncertainty in the estimate of the yield. When both the landlords and tenants' shares are determined upon the basis of area the only element of uncertainty in the estimate of the yield comes from minimum charges. In the matter of these there was in Tippera a minor departure made from the Rajshahi apportionment order to afford more certainty in estimating the resultant effect of the minimum charges on the total realizations. By the order for Rajshahi the effect of minimum charges depends somewhat upon the number of demands to be calculated upon areas lying between half and one acre.

263. The costs payable by each individual landlord and tenant was calculated in the Sadar Office. A demand register for each village, with a schedule of demands to be handed over to one of the leading villagers or posted in the village, and receipts and counterfoils written up and bound in little books with no blank forms were sent out to the recovery camps with the printed records and maps for distribution and the lists which had been prepared in the *jānch* camps giving the names of persons entitled to free copies of the village maps. Before the records were sent out the copies of the *khatīāns* of each of his immediate tenants which every landlord was to get were stitched to his own *khatīān*, and in addition to the *khatīāns* for distribution one full copy of the records of each village was sent out to the Recovery Camp for sale. Experience in Noakhali had shown that it was useless to send out copies of the maps for sale for there was no demand for more than had been distributed free. Notices of final publication were issued so that one month should have elapsed before recovery would commence, and the certificate that final publication was complete was signed in the Sadar office as nearly as possible at the same time as the commencement of recovery and the distribution of free copies in the Recovery Camp.

264. It was arranged that the record should be made ready and finally published in the parts of the second block where much jute was grown in time to take advantage of the jute season of 1918 for recovery of costs. The record of most of Hājiganj and Chāndpur *thanās* was finally published during August and September of that year. During the following cold weather the record of the rest of the second block in Noakhali and of the southern part of the third block, nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of it, lying in *thanās* Matlab, Dāutkāndi, Nabināgar and Kasbā was completed. In September 1918 there had been floods in Brāhmanbāria *thanā* which had destroyed much of the winter rice crop, and as it seemed likely that some scarcity would result the record of the southern part of the second block was printed before that of Brāhmanbāria. There was some real scarcity in Brāhmanbāria during last cold weather and no attempt has therefore been made to realize settlement costs there yet (August 1919) but a recovery camp will be opened from the first of September for a selected block of Brāhmanbāria which as crop statistics show is dependent mainly upon its jute and summer rice crops. A camp was opened in July in the fourth block to take advantage of the jute season and recovery has been very brisk. It was in this camp that records were finally published within 20 months of the commencement of cadastral survey. Recovery of costs has so far gone very easily and smoothly in Tippera.

CHAPTER IV.

Conclusion.

265. Gangāmandal *pargana* as has already been mentioned has been in the hands of the Official Receiver of the High Court since 1836.* The Receiver's practice has been to lease the estate as one block in farms for short terms. The farms were for three years each at first but later ones have been for 6 years. Until 1896 the farmers were the speculators who bid the highest rent. Since then they have been chosen from among the co-sharer proprietors. They in turn sublet the estate in small parcels usually a village at a time to local men in farms for three years at a time. Sometimes the sub-lessees, *dar-ijāradārs*, sublet again to *kat-ijāradārs*. The system has now gone on for more than three-quarters of a century. Some *dar-ijāradārs* have held the same villages for several periods while in other villages the *dar-ijāradārs* have been changed as often as the *ijāradār's* lease expired. The result of the system has been disastrous to the estate from a financial point of view and the tenants have suffered continuously from the disturbed conditions which must continue as long as the system is in use. Those who have profited have been the land-grabbers, the touts and the litigious among the inhabitants of the various parts of the estate, and they have profited not only out of the estate but out of their less sophisticated neighbours. Those who have become *dar-ijāradārs* are men who possess small permanent tenures, small rent-free properties and *raiyyati*-holdings. The *ijāradārs* know very little of the property and the Receiver of the High Court nothing at all. The *dar-ijāradārs*, while their term lasts contrive their own advantage by creating fictitious rent-free tenures in the names of their relatives and by including holdings under their permanent tenures or rent-free properties and any plots of land which they purchase either in them or in their own *raiyyati*-holdings for which they do not show in their papers that any increased rent is due. The estate must have lost a great deal in this way, but it has lost much more by the fact that *raiyyats* have brought land under cultivation without any increase of rent and that rents paid for what was already cultivated have not been enhanced as in other estates. The *dar-ijāradārs* have no interest in permanently improving the property. Tenants are always jealous where their rents are concerned, and to avoid an enhancement which

* *Vide supra*, paragraph 187.

will have to be paid continuously are prepared to pay substantial sums other than rent to avoid the increase. The tenure of the *dar-ijāradārs* is too precarious to make it worthwhile to undertake systematic measurements and enquiries with a view to adding to the rent-roll. It is the estate that has thus suffered most of all, but the tenants suffer much at the hands of the *dar-ijāradārs* and are never sure how they stand. In most of the *pargana* the *dar-ijāradārs* when they enter upon a new term of 3 years make a realization from all the tenants of a quarter of the rent and call it *agammi*. If a cultivator does not pay there are very many ways in which the *dar-ijāradār* can make it the worse for him.

The greatest difficulty during the preparation of the record-of-rights was experienced in determining what was included in the permanent properties of the *dar-ijāradārs* and what was not. Usually there was very little evidence on the point and what there was was to be obtained from the very unsatisfactory papers of former *dar-ijāradārs*. Sometimes these persons were jealous of the present *dar-ijāradārs* and sometimes they were their friends. Their papers were very incomplete and unsatisfactory and often of very doubtful honesty. Disputes of this nature had usually to be decided against the interest of the estate and there must have been innumerable instances of land, which had at sometime or other been clandestinely included within permanent properties of present and former *dar-ijāradārs*, recorded thus although it was originally not part of them. The record-of-rights has however helped the estate to this extent, that, though it has not been able to eliminate the result of fraud in the past, it has put a stop to the possibility of similar fraud in the future.

Much difficulty arose at the time of attestation in Gangāmandal over the claims of *raiya*s to *mukarari* rights. In disputes in this connection the paucity and unreliability of evidence was again the outstanding feature. The estate and the *ijāradārs* had no papers at all. The tenants had not been getting rent-receipts regularly from the *dar-ijāradārs* and the energies of both parties were directed towards gaining over former *dar-ijāradārs* and obtaining papers from them. The result has been most unsatisfactory and unfair to individuals. Probably the large majority of the tenants could have taken advantage of the presumption of section 50 (2) of the Tenancy Act if rent-receipts had been regularly granted to them. On the other hand, there is little doubt, that the general level of rents in the *pargana* was raised considerably between the Permanent Settlement and 1836. The decision in the case of *raiya*s inevitably turned for or against them according as they happened to be able to produce rent-receipts and gain over former *dar-ijāradārs* or not, and I fear that there was a considerable amount of false documentary evidence of which use was made.

266. Four villages of Gangāmandal were surveyed and for them a record-of-rights was prepared by Mr. J. G. Cumming in 1896-97 at the same time that he was engaged in the survey of Chakla Roshnābād. In his Final

The suitability of the *ijāra* system questioned in 1900.

Report of the Settlement Operation he condemned the *ijāra* system in the strongest terms, pointing out that rents had been manipulated and the tenants alienated. The Director of Land Records brought the matter to the notice of the Board of Revenue* and the Board requested the Government of Bengal† to call the attention of the High Court to the disastrous results of the system of farming out villages to the highest bidder. Mr. Justice Amir Ali called upon the Receiver to express his views and he did so, on the 6th December 1900. He said that he was unaware of the manipulation of rents and alienation of the tenants which Mr. Cumming had reported, but admitted that *dar-ijāradārs* had used the opportunities at their disposal to create fictitious *lakherāj* tenures. He had obtained an estimate of the probable cost of a cadastral survey of the whole *pargana* and called a meeting of all the proprietors interested in the estate at which, he said, they "admitted the existence of the evil but pointed out that it was an evil which had always existed and said that as their predecessors had put up with it they were

* Director of Land Records' letter No. 480-S., dated 16th April 1900, and addressed to the Board.

† The Board's letter No. 567-A, of 1900-01, addressed to the Government of Bengal.

content to do the same." His arguments in favour of the *ijāra* system were :—

- (a) That it enables him to guarantee an absolutely regular payment to beneficiaries of their monthly allowances and of a yearly dividend.
- (b) That the system had the approval of the beneficiaries and he had received no complaints from the tenants.
- (c) That *khās* management of large *zāmindaris* by the Receiver of the High Court was inadvisable and difficult.

In answering categorically questions put to him by the Registrar he said that :—

- (a) He was not of opinion that the change to a system of *khās* management would benefit the proprietors.
- (b) That if the change were made there could be no guarantee that the Government revenue could be regularly paid and the beneficiaries regularly given their allowances. He was not prepared to say that the expense of litigation caused to the estate in opposing adverse claims would be any less under *khās* management than under the *ijāra* system.
- (c) That he was unable to say that he could ensure regular realization of rents so as to produce a large income than that obtained by the existing system; that he would be faced with the two great difficulties, "preservation and control of a system of judicious settlements" and of "confining expenditure within reasonable limits"; and that "the regular receipt of rents would depend largely on the general disposition of the tenants a matter always of considerable speculation".

The Receiver's report put an end to further discussion at the time.

267. The record-of-rights has now been prepared for the whole *pargana*

The matter again brought to the notice of Government.

and there is further evidence how much the estate has been the loser through the *ijāra* system. Apart from the result of the machinations of the *dar-ijāradārs* for their own benefit the evidence of the statistics which have been prepared show that the general level of rents has now become low compared with the level in neighbouring properties. The average rent paid by occupancy-*raiyats* in estate No. 59 is now only Rs. 2-13 per acre. This is considerably below the average for the whole district, whereas in the middle of last century rents in Gangāmandal were higher than in any other *pargana*.* In 1789 the average assessment on *raiyats* was Re. 1-12-6 per acre in Gangāmandal† compared with Re. 1-8 in Baradākhāt, whereas now the average in Baradākhāt is well over Rs. 4 per acre.

The frauds which have been made by *dar-ijāradārs* have not been defeated but the record-of-rights provides protection against such frauds in the future. It should also remove many of the difficulties which the Receiver contemplated in the regular realization of rent. They were never peculiar difficulties such as the *zamindārs* have not continually to face all over Bengal. It is possible, therefore, that the Receiver may have changed his opinion in the face of changed circumstances as to the practicability of *khās* management by himself. In stating his case in 1900 he admitted only the evil resulting to the estate from the creation of fictitious *lakheraj* tenures by the *dar-ijāradārs*. He ignored the fact that in the four villages with which he had dealt Mr. Cumming found that there had been manipulation of the rents and the tenants had been alienated. It does not appear that the tenants generally have been alienated to the same extent as in those four villages, but it does appear that they suffer from the disturbed conditions occasioned by the precarious position

* *Vide supra*, paragraph 183.

† Ditto ditto 181.

of the *dar-ijāradārs*. Though it is now the rule that the *ijāradār* is chosen from among the proprietors it is possible that some of them may have changed their views as to the utility of the *ijāra* system. I would, therefore, bring the matter of management of this estate again to the notice of Government and would emphasize the fact that I do so not so much in the interest of the proprietors as in that of the 50,000 persons who live within the *pargana*.

268. In several places in the Settlement Report for Noakhali emphasis was laid on the fact that the cultivators there is very well able to look after himself, that among

Realization of rents.

the landlords there are very few who are able to overawe their tenants in the manner which is the rule rather than the exception in so many parts of the Province, and that the landlords were finding increasing difficulty in realizing without the expense of litigation even rents which had been current without change for years, in spite of the rise in prices of agricultural produce which have made it the easier for the cultivator to pay. It was said in that report that if such an experiment is to be tried as that contemplated when Chapter XIII A was added to the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1907 before the decision that maintenance of the record-of-rights at public expense was inadvisable, the district of Noakhali is the first in the province in which it should be made. Though the Tippera cultivator in his aptitude for litigation and his knowledge of his rights bears a close resemblance to his southern neighbour, he has not by any means broken the yoke of his landlord in the same way. There are still landlords who are able to employ the traditional methods of estate management so common elsewhere. Moreover as progress is made from the south to the north of the district it becomes far less common to find as it is the rule to find in Noakhali that every agreement to pay rent has been reduced to writing in a registered document. If the landlords have experienced difficulty in realizing their rents the record-of-rights will be of material assistance to them in the future, and it would require very careful discrimination between landlord and landlord before Certificate Procedure for realizing rents were allowed to private proprietors in Tippera.

269. The conclusion arrived at in the Noakhali report, that the preparation of a copy of the record in bound volumes for the use of the District Judge is wasteful, and that in future settlements even if the copy for the

The judge and Munsif's copies of the record.

Munsifs continues to be prepared that for the District Judge should be prepared no longer, is repeated.

270. Attention may be again drawn to what has been written in paragraphs 202 and 203 regarding the utility of the demarcation of village trijunction stations upon which a considerable sum is spent to little purpose, and regarding the maintenance of which elaborate

Attention drawn to suggestions which have been made earlier in the report.

rules have been framed, to what has been written in paragraph 210 regarding the working of current rules for *thāk* comparison at the *bujhārat* stage and to what follows regarding the use of *thāk* maps in paragraphs 211 to 214. An officiating Judge, to whom the draft of these paragraphs was shown for his criticism as to whether they were written so as to be intelligible to a person not having much technical knowledge on the subject, remarked that it would probably prove useful to a Judicial Officer to have an authoritative disquisition somewhat on the same terms on the subject, to which lawyers and himself could refer in dealing with cases in which *thāk* maps were put forward in evidence. It is hoped that these paragraphs may be useful to lawyers and Judicial officers in Tippera and it is suggested that a more general dissertation, applicable not only to the particular conditions of Tippera and Noakhali where the *thāk* and revenue surveys came late and the *thāk* survey was carried out by methods which had been stereotyped and improved, might prove very useful in other parts of Bengal. "Notes on the old Revenue Surveys of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam" by Captain F. C. Hirst, published by Thacker, Spink & Co., 1912, is a work in which the methods of the revenue surveys are fully discussed, but it is not written with an eye to the frequent and sometimes incorrect use which is made of the *thāk* maps in civil litigation, and does not explain their proper use when there are recent cadastral maps available with which they may be compared.

271. It has always been a problem before Settlement Officers in Eastern Bengal how to find sufficient employment for *kānungos* during the recess. Their seven months field-season is an arduous one and they require some rest, but not for so long a period as the whole rainy season. The Settlement Officer of Dacca employed many of them in the Collectorate Record-Room and found much that they could do, but other districts do not contain the enormous number of estates there are on the *tāuzi* roll of Dacca and the utility of much of the work to be done would, in any case, be greater were it completed before the Settlement Operations had gone very far. In this Settlement final *jānch* work was carried out as far as possible during the recess and the employment of *kānungos* to supervise it and actually to work through some of the stages, not only gave them and a number of *āmīns* and *muhārrirs* useful occupation at that season, but produced excellent results. The successful result of the effort made to speed the operations to their conclusion has however taught another lesson. When the *kānungo*-system was first introduced it was intended that *bujhārat* and attestation should be carried through in the same season. The trial, in the first block dealt with in Faridpur, did not give a fair chance of success, for the staff of *kānungos* was new and a number of the Gazetted Officers new to the work. In the last block dealt with in Tippera most of the area was high. The landlords were early informed of the intention that Attestation should proceed at once after the close of the *bujhārat* season and requested to supply camp officers with the names of any villages the Attestation of which they would like put off for a few months. The villages which had been earliest completed in *bujhārat* were first taken up. The landlords raised no objections whatever. On the contrary they eagerly welcomed the changed procedure as it enabled them to discharge the sooner the temporary staff they had employed to look after their interests while the record was being prepared. The arrangement with adjustments in the progress of subsequent stages enabled considerable economy to be effected, and the operations brought to a conclusion a year earlier than had been indicated by the original programme. Much of the district for which a record-of-rights remains to be prepared in the Province lies higher than Tippera. If the example of what was done here is followed elsewhere, especially, if the order in which the blocks of a district are taken up is so arranged as to leave a block which lies high to be dealt with last, it will be possible for every District Settlement to complete its programme as early as it has been completed in Tippera, and if such of the senior *kānungos* as are considered fit for the work are employed every year in attestation during the recess there need be no anxiety in the future as to the problem of finding sufficient employment for the staff when the field-season is over. The temporary clerks and *muhārrirs* of the department will gladly welcome a change which will give all the best of them an opportunity to find employment all the year round.

272. The original estimates for this settlement provided for the retention of two I. C. S. Officers as charge officers during the three field-seasons in which field-work was to go on in Tippera. Owing to the war, however, officers were not available. Mr. Lethbridge was attached to the settlement for nine months and Mr. Pringle for one. For the rest of the time none but Deputy Collectors were spared. Though Khān Sāhib A. K. Kabiruddin's long settlement experience and untiring energy and Mr. J. R. Johnson's keenness were exceedingly valuable it was not possible for them to fill the posts as they would have been filled by I. C. S. Officers. To leave a Settlement Officer without assistants of the I. C. S. after the first season is to impose upon him more than one man's work. That it did not lead to disaster in this settlement is to be attributed to the fact that the postponement of new operation elsewhere led to a concentration of such an experienced staff of *āmīns* and *kānungos* in this settlement as had not taken place in any other in Bengal, and to the fact that I happened in Dacca, Faridpur and Rajshahi to have had experience of every stage of settlement work before the Tippera-Noakhali Operations commenced. The burden must have been heavier on the shoulders of the officers who began work elsewhere since 1916.

273. The pleasure of acknowledging the services of the officers who have helped to carry the settlement to its conclusion remains. Khān Sāhib A. K. Kabiruddin's

Notice of Officers.

name has just been mentioned. He was in charge of half the block for cadastral survey each year, and sustained it as I think no other Indian officer with whom I am acquainted would have done. During the season in which their services were employed Mr. Lethbridge, I.C.S. and Mr. J. R. Johnson spared themselves not at all in the energy with which they toured their charges. Babu Kālī Mohan Sen's services were valuable and Babu Kalipada Maitra's would have been more so had his health been better. Among the Sub-Deputy Collectors Babu Surendra Nath Sen-Gupta, Babu Abani Kumar Sen, Maulvi Ali Azām, Babu Rāi Charan Pāl and Babu Prabhāt Chandra Banarji, the last two of whom were responsible for the work of revision of land revenue, deserve special mention, as do the following Revenue Officers Maulvi Nazimuddin, Babu Suresh Chandra Ghosh, Babu Upendra Nāth Gānguli, Babu Sārada Prasanna Choudhury and Babu Joges Chandra Guha. Mr. I. Newton did excellent work as Technical Adviser and Babu Akhil Chandra Ganguli both in that post and as a Revenue Officer. The selection of Maulvi Abdul Jalil Khān, Deputy Collector, a Muhammadan, to be Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer, though the large majority of the Sadar Staff were Hindus, was amply justified by results, and it is with complete confidence that I leave the work which remains in his hand. It would be invidious to select and mention names from the long list of *kānunjos* who were employed. The high level among the *kānunjo* staff, as a body, has already been more than once mentioned. Among the clerks in the Sadar Office I would mention the names of Babu Surendra Kumār Ray, the Head Clerk, who is now found employment in the Noakhali Collectorate. Babu Sarat Chandra Ghoshāl the Record-Keeper, Babu Aswini Kumār Lodh, Head Computor, and Babu Aswini Kumar Sen, Head Draftsman, who controlled the Drawing Section when a Technical Adviser was no longer retained.

I may be permitted to thank Major Hirst and those officers who acted for him in his absence as well as Mr. Delaney who was in charge of the reproduction of maps for the assistance which they have given, the various officers who have filled the post of Collector in Tippera and Noakhali while the work has been going on for their generous co-operation and especially Mr. M. C. McAlpin, Director of Land Records, for his advice and unfailing support.

